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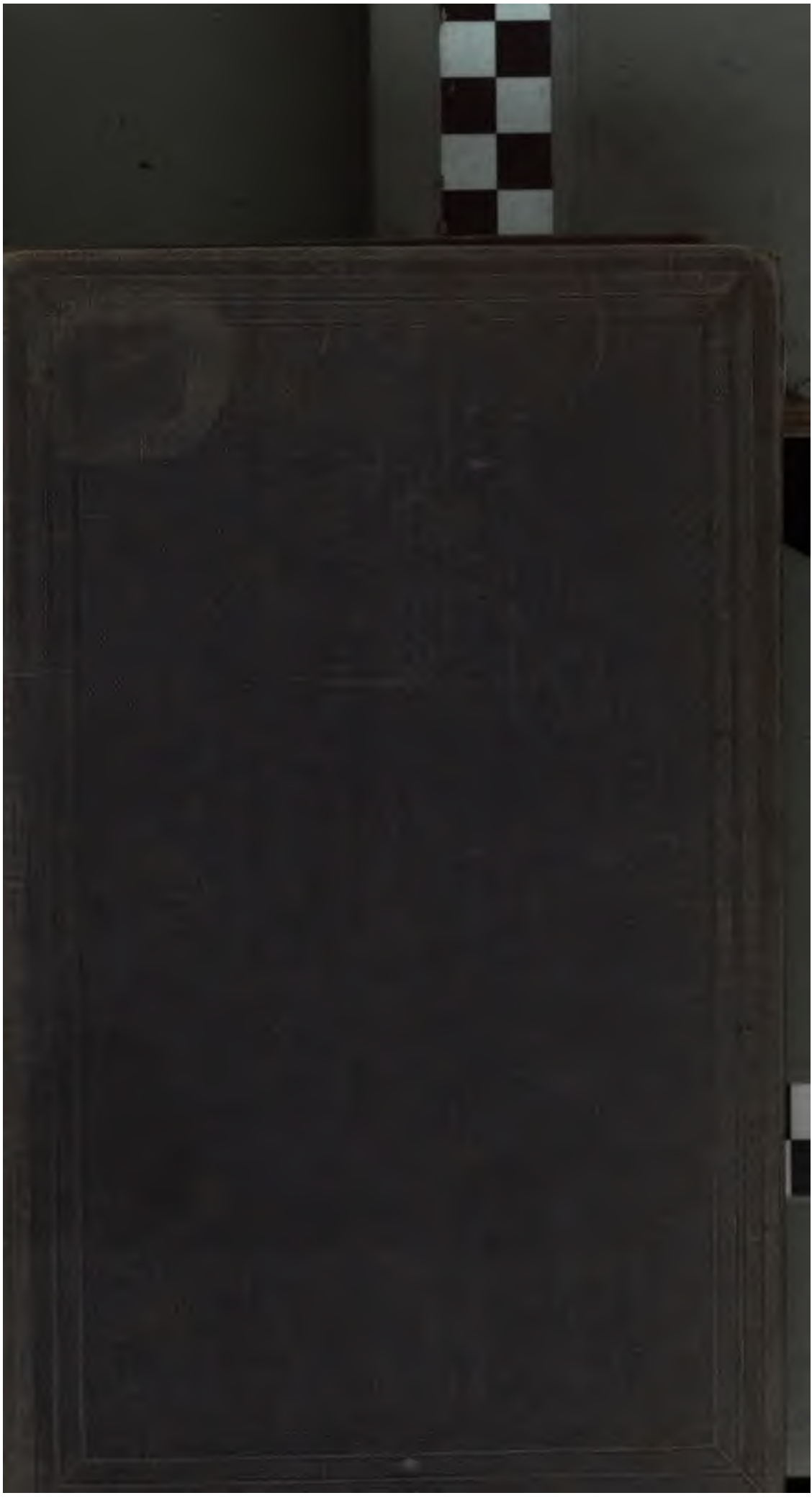

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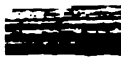
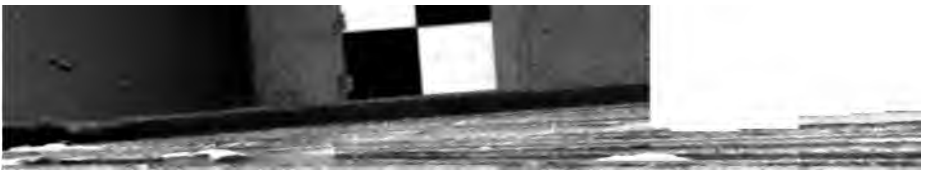


THE

THEOLOGICAL WORKS

OF

HERBERT THORNDIKE.



TITLES OF THE TREATISES CONTAINED IN THE SIXTH VOLUME.

I.

THE CHURCH'S RIGHT TO TITHES, AS FOUND IN SCRIPTURE: [written about 1659; now first published.]

II.

THE CHURCH'S POWER OF EXCOMMUNICATION, AS FOUND IN SCRIPTURE: [written about 1659: now first published.]

III.

THE CHURCH'S LEGISLATIVE POWER, AS FOUND IN SCRIPTURE: [written about 1659: now first published.]

IV.

THE RIGHT OF THE CHRISTIAN STATE IN CHURCH-MATTERS, ACCORDING TO THE SCRIPTURES: [written about 1659: now first published.]

LETTERS AND PAPERS.

LIFE.

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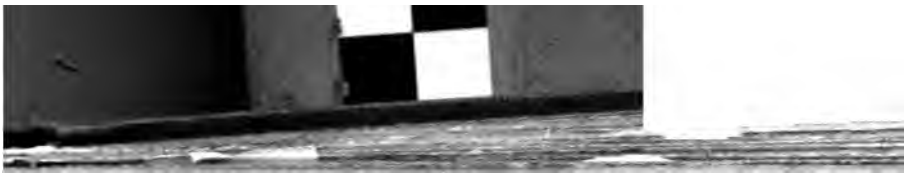

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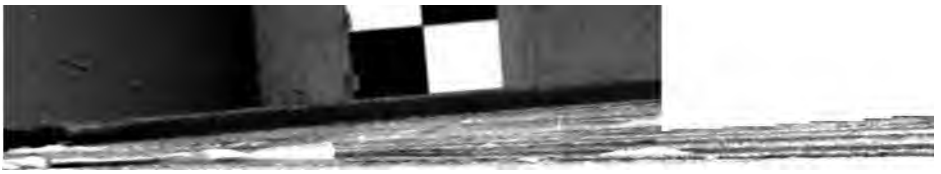


THE CHURCH'S RIGHT TO TITHES,

AS FOUND IN SCRIPTURE.

THE CHURCH'S RIGHT TO TITHES, AS FOUND IN SCRIPTURE[a].

[The Church, being a corporation, has a public exchequer.]

To the subsistence of any commonwealth a public exchequer is requisite; and the right of receiving, and power of disposing, those common contributions, which the discharge of public necessities manifestly requireth, is a chief point of that power and right wherein the sovereignty of any state or people consisteth. More than that: the most part of less considerable bodies, fraternities, corporations, and colleges, which by the indulgence, and grant, and privilege of princes and states, do subsist within the greater bodies of several commonwealths, require to their constitution and subsistence, a power to hold and dispose of more or less public stock of these several bodies or fraternities. If, therefore, we stand upon it, that the Church is of itself by the appointment of God, before and without dependence upon any state or commonwealth, a society, body, or corporation of men, in acts of this life communicating, though tending to that which is to come; it will be requisite, that we make evidence of a law of God, by which all, that communicate in it, stand obliged to support the public necessities of the Church, as to be members of it; and the stock thereof estated upon the body of the Church, which thereby stands enabled to receive and dispose of the same.

[a] The MSS. of this, and of the tracts which follow in the present volume, are in the Chapter Library at Westminster. They are contained in a single 4to. volume, in Thorndike's own handwriting; which contains also notes and extracts from various works, belonging to an earlier date than the tracts, and apparently made for the purpose of the first edition of the Epilogue in 1659. The references in the tracts to that work, and their contents, prove that they were written subsequently to that date; but there is no nearer evidence of the precise year of their composition: except the probability that they belong to an earlier period than that of his purpose to translate, or rather rewrite, and republish, the Epilogue in Latin. The present tract reviews and completes his Scriptural argument for tithes in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 38—52, and in Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xvi. § 14—48. The titles of the tracts are added by the Editor.

§ 4. For these reasons, therefore, if we consider precisely the special nature and quality of tithes, it cannot, nor need not, be denied, that there are many things in the constitution of them so essential to the state of religion of the Jews, that the precept of paying them doth or ought [not] to oblige the Church. But if we take them into a more general consideration, as they do, and may, bear the nature of oblations and first-fruits (all tithes being oblations and first-fruits, not all oblations and first-fruits tithes, because that is more general, this more particular), it cannot and must not be denied, that the Church is far more tied by the precept of first-fruits and oblations, than ever the Synagogue was by that of tithes. A thing, which, though it will sound strange to most men, because they use not to hear it in the pulpit, where those things that are not for the interesse, perhaps not within the knowledge, of those that come there most, do not use to make much noise; yet, if we receive that infallible rule, which we have grounded ourselves on from the beginning, of interpreting the Scriptures by the primitive and uniform practice of the whole Church, I shall hope to make appear so clear by sundry passages of the New Testament, that no man but he that is resolved not to be informed, shall be able to doubt, saving his common sense, that the same is derived from the ordinance of the apostles.

[The Church more bound by the precept of first-fruits than the Synagogue by that of tithes.]

§ 5. On the other side, let any man, that knows but a little of the state of the ancient Church, consider the good affection that was then between Jews and Christians, when they had in fresh remembrance been a great means to multiply persecutions against the Church, blasphemed Christ daily, cursed all Christians at their devotions in their synagogues (as we learn by Justin the Martyr in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew[c], and Epiphanius against the Ebionites or Nazarenes[d]); and then let him tell me, what colour of probability we can find, that either Christians of themselves, before the empire received Christianity (seeing it cannot be questioned that the endowing of the Church began long before), should lavish out

[The Church-law of tithe not borrowed from the Jews.]

[c] Quoted in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 37, note i. See also Review of Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xi. § 4; Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xviii. § 11, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 28.

[d] Quoted, Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., ibid., note k.

that those estates were offered here for the maintenance of God's service.

§ 7. And that the disposing of that which was offered, was put into the hands of those that had the public authority of the Church, is manifest by that which is expressed, Acts iv. 35, 36;—that the prices of those [things], which were sold, were "laid down at the apostles' feet;" as putting them at their disposing in behalf of the community of the Church. By which we must expound that which was said afore—that they "sold their possessions, and distributed them to all, as any had need;"—that they put them in the power of the apostles, so to be distributed. [The apostles had the disposal of what was offered.]

§ 8. To confirm the truth hereof, we must consider the "murmuring of the Hellenists, because, the number of disciples increasing, their widows were neglected in the daily ministration;" Acts vi. 1. ["The daily ministration."]

§ 9. It is manifest, that our Lord instituted the sacrament of the eucharist at a supper, when His twelve disciples were present: and that, as He had instituted it, so the Church at the beginning frequented it, providing public entertainment for rich and poor at the charge of the rich, at which Christian and sober refection the eucharist was celebrated in the same manner as the Lord at the first institution of it among His disciples had done. And this is that which the apostle calls "the Lord's Supper," 1 Cor. xi. 20 [, 21]:—"Therefore, when ye come together, it is not to eat the Lord's Supper; for every one in eating takes his own supper afore, and one is hungry, another is drunk." For they, that made it not a common meeting for the Church, as the Church could meet in common at meat, but made the common meetings of the Church, at which by order the eucharist was to be celebrated by the community of it, particular meetings for themselves and their friends, in regard of the factions then on foot not joining with others, and for their own greater freedom not entertaining the poor, cannot be said to celebrate "the Lord's Supper," at which He instituted and celebrated the eucharist in common with His disciples. [The eucharist instituted, and at first frequented, at meal-time.]

§ 10. So that "the Lord's Supper" is not the sacrament of the eucharist, but the common entertainment, or sober feast, at which the apostles had appointed the community of the ["The Lord's Supper," not the sacrament,

that religion, concerned all those that profess it, by that very obligation that tied them to profess it; in lieu therefore of legal duties in kind, they found themselves [tied] to make several stocks in the several greatest residences of their dispersions, and at fit times to send and present their oblations and contributions in gross at Jerusalem. For in Josephus we find divers edicts of Roman governors and emperors, by which these stocks and contributions are secured inviolable[m]. And of the Babylonian Jews, which was far the greatest body of all the dispersions, he writeth, that they had a treasure-place in a strong city of the other empire, from whence they sent and presented at Jerusalem from time to time[n]. In correspondence hereunto, the Christians at Jerusalem, finding it difficult for them to subsist in that course which they had begun of the common service of God, being no less subject to the duties of the Law than other Jews, and subject to all manner of persecutions, we find an order brought in from the first publishing of the Gospel beyond Judea, that the Churches planted beyond it should send contributions to the maintenance of those Churches, that is, of the service of God in the same.

§ 16. This is that which we read of the Christians of Antiochia, Acts xi. 29; who, having understood by the prophecy of Agabus of a great famine to ensue, "every one of the disciples, as he was stored, set down to send to the ministry of the brethren dwelling in Judea, which also they did, sending to the presbyters by the hand of Barnabas and Saul." It is the first mention we have of presbyters in all the Scriptures of the New Testament: and therefore, finding before that those contributions were put in the apostles' hands, we are assured hereby, that, the apostles having constituted presbyters in the Church at Jerusalem, though of the constitution of them in that Church we have nothing in Scripture, these contributions are put in their hands, as the men that under the apostles had the charge, as for that particular Church of Jerusalem, or perhaps also for other Churches of Judea, the respective

[As that of Antioch.]

[m] Josephus, Antiq. Jud., lib. xiv. c. 10; vol. i. pp. 627—636, ed. Hudson.

[n] Id., ibid., lib. xviii. c. 10. § 1; ibid., vol. ii. p. 827. The city "in the other," i. e. the Roman, Empire, was Nisibis, the Jews of Babylonia being themselves at the time spoken of within the limits of the Parthian Empire.

presbyters whereof may be understood by these words of the Scripture, to give order for the disposing of them by the deacons, according as hath been said.

[And that agreed upon by St. Paul and the apostles of the circumcision.]

§ 17. So St. Paul, speaking of the agreement between himself and the apostles of the circumcision at Jerusalem, Gal. ii. 9 [, 10] : "They gave," saith he, "the right hand of fellowship to me and Barnabas, that they should go to the circumcision, we to the Gentiles: only that we should remember the poor, which very thing I was studious to do." In the division of their charge by common consent it is provided, that those that planted the Gospel among the Gentiles, should be careful to order them to send contributions to the support of the Church at Jerusalem; which, according to what you saw before, were to be put into the hands of the apostles and presbyters for the behoof of the poor and the maintenance of them in the service of God.

[And those of the Corinthians.]

§ 18. And these are the "collections," whereof the same apostle writes, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, sq.; what he ordered concerning the raising of them there in the Church of Corinth, as before he had done in the Churches of Galatia, to which also he stirs them up again throughout the eighth and ninth chapters of his second epistle, by the example of the Churches of Macedonia.

[And of the Romans.]

§ 19. And in his epistle to the Romans, inviting them to the same, he presseth the reason of them; saying (xv. 27), "For if the Gentiles have participated of their spiritual things, they ought also to minister unto them in carnal things."

[And of the Macedonians.]

§ 20. Which is to the same purpose with that commendation which he gives the freedom of the Macedonians, 2 Cor. viii. 5: "And not as we hoped," saith the apostle, "but first they gave themselves to God, and to us through the will of God." Those, that were sensible how much good they had received by the Gospel, which first was nourished and fostered in the Churches of Judea, and by that means was propagated to the Gentiles; whether or no were they to think themselves bound to maintain it, or was it at their choice to stand by and see them forsake the public service of God, which is the means by which the Gospel is maintained, for want of entertainment at it? Or, having received the Gospel of St. Paul,

whether was it indifferent to them to contribute to that purpose, which he found necessary for the subsistence of both?

§ 21. Let no man therefore say, that all this was of free gift, as the apostle desires it, and therefore no evidence for any duty or right in the Church; unless he can imagine, that the apostle should use so many reasons to persuade them to that which they were not bound to do. For certainly they were not bound so much to anything as to be Christians, and yet God accepted not of them that did not offer themselves freely and willingly to the profession of it; and those that do so, His apostles had no cause to despair, that they would willingly do whatsoever else the maintenance thereof should require. [They were not of free gift.]

§ 22. Indeed the true meaning of that freedom of the Macedonians, which the apostle commends, is this, that they "gave themselves up to God, and to St. Paul," to be employed by him, according to the will of God, in that business; to wit, in carrying their contributions to Jerusalem: according to that which he writeth to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xvi. 3,— "When I come to you, those whom you shall approve, those will I send with my letters to carry your bounty to Jerusalem." So that the Macedonians are here commended, not only for contributing of their goods, but for promising to appoint some of their number to carry it. As St. Paul saith of him whom he sent with Titus to Corinth, 2 Cor. viii. 19; "He is also ordained by the Churches to travel with us, with this liberality which is ministered by us." [The persons, and not only the contributions, of the Macedonians, at St. Paul's disposal.]

§ 23. Ignatius, in his Epistle to Polycarpus[o], inviting him and the Church of Smyrna to appoint some of their number to go into Syria upon a message to the Church of Antiochia, useth this reason;—"a Christian," saith he, "hath not power of himself, but waiteth upon God:"—which is to say, that the Church hath power to dispose of the members thereof in things pertaining to God, that is, to His Church. If upon [St. Ignatius.]

[o] "Πρέπει, Πολύκαρπε θεομακαριστότατε, συμβούλιον ἀγαγεῖν θεοπρεπέστατον, καὶ χειροτονῆσαί τινα, ὃν ἀγαπητὸν λίαν ἔχετε καὶ ὄκνον, ὡς δυνήσεται θεόδρομος καλεῖσθαι· τοῦτον καταξιῶσαι, ἵνα πορευθεὶς εἰς Συρίαν, δοξάσῃ ὑμῶν τὴν ὄκνον ἀγάπην, εἰς δόξαν Χριστοῦ· χριστιανὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἔχει· ἀλλὰ Θεῷ σχολάζει· τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Θεοῦ ἐστιν, καὶ ὑμῶν, ὅταν αὐτὸ ἀπαρτίσητε." S. Ignat., Ep. ad Polyc., § vii.; ap. Coteler., PP. Apost., tom. ii. p. 42.

[What was due under the Law.]

§ 28. See then what under the Law[r]. Two tithes (Lev. xxvii. 30), from the law of Noah's sons[s], as mourning for the dead (Lev. x. 6); not commanded by the Law, [as the precepts of] the brother's wife, and difference of beasts, and priesthood of the first-born. And again, for whom they belong to, Num. xviii. 21: the second[t], Deut. xiv. 22, to be spent in sacrificing and feasting, that is, upon the priests and Levites, as well as themselves, whose it was all every third year (Deut. xiv. 27[—29], Exod. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 36): the first-fruits (Num. xviii. 12), that is, a fiftieth part, the two tithes being a tenth, and a tenth of wine, somewhat more, rather less. Then the rest of the duties in Num. xviii.: first, vows, accursed things (Lev. xxvii. 28, Num. xviii. 14, 15, viii. 11—21, iii. 47), sacrifices (Num. xviii. 9), the skins, whereof Philo[u] makes a great revenue. Besides the cities of the Levites, all this.

[Gen. xxxviii. 8—10; vii. 2.]

[How the proportion under the Gospel is to be estimated.]

§ 29. In the Church, to take the practice of Jerusalem for a precept [were the] madness of Anabaptists; which yet is strange, till we take the rule of interpreting Scripture by the Church: but it shews how short they come, that part not with what the maintenance of God's service requires. The premisses argue the proportion, wherein the Churches sustain themselves, and the Jewish [Churches]; which had disfurnished themselves, because requisite, as subject to persecution and informed of the ruin of the city. Suppose we have no record of that proportion, no law prescribing [it]. The difference of the Law and Gospel required it. The spirit of fear abolished, it remained, that they should give their goods willingly, that gave themselves. The effect shews. Julian designed the defeat of Christianity, not by seizing endowments of piety and charity in hospitals, but in robbing them of the order[x]; till, nations becoming Christians, [the] example of all suffers none to question for the future.

[Double obligation, of consecration, and of secular laws.]

§ 30. Thence two distinct obligations, consecration and secular laws. Consecration the same as of Ananias and Sapphira, whose sin [was] twofold; Acts v. 3. All to the maintenance of the Church's communion, and that ultimately in the eu-

[r] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 50.

[s] See ibid. § 49: and Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xvi. § 18.

[t] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., ibid. § 50.

[u] Quoted, ibid., note l.

[x] See Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xvi. § 50—52.

charist. Whence whatsoever is given to the Church's use is consecrate to the altar, whether in building, adorning, furnishing utensils of churches, endowing with maintenance for clergy, [and] for those that cannot attend Divine service otherwise: as appears notably, 1 Tim. v. 4, 5, 8, 16, with Luke ii. 37, Exod. xxxviii. 8, 1 Sam. ii. 22[y]. The instance is eminent in England, when the tithe of all was offered on the altar at Winchester by K[ing Ethelwulf in the presence of his baronage[z]]. Which solemnity when it is not, yet all is consecrate by the altar, that is given to maintain the service of it: no less than the offerings, out of which the eucharist is consecrated. As in the primitive Church, when offerings were brought in kind; out of part the eucharist was consecrated, out of the rest clergy and poor lived. All to one purpose, if house or possession were afterwards vested on the Church.

[Pattern in the Jewish law.]

§ 31. And for this reason, what is said of withholding tithes or things consecrate for common use, belongs hither under the vow; by the same reason as the right of putting out of the Churches and making laws is drawn from the right of putting to death, or out of the synagogue, or making laws from the text of the Law.

[How far the secular law is irreversible.]

§ 32. True it is, all this would not presume, when the world is Christian; because of feigned Christians, and reasons aforesaid. [It is] therefore necessary, that laws of states and kingdoms be added; which though they will always be in the power of them that first made them, yet have they no power over consecration, which puts all out of men's power, nor [over] our original obligation, upon which they became consecrate: that always lying on the people, to give to the same purpose proportionably to their estate, no ways excusable but by extreme invincible ignorance; which draws with it a real curse, inasmuch as the maintenance of God's service cannot with any pretence be taken away by a Christian, but he must also abolish or take away the service of God as superfluous, instead of augmenting as well as reforming it.

[y] These passages refer to the widows in the temple, and to those in the Christian Church.

[z] A.D. 855. So Ingulph of Croyland and others. See Selden's Hist. of Tithes, c. viii. § 4; Works, vol. iii. pp. 1182, 1183.

THE CHURCH'S POWER OF EXCOMMUNICATION, AS FOUND IN SCRIPTURE[a].

THE first point of ecclesiastical power questioned among us is a very great one; and which really refused, there will remain no such power of our Lord's institution or His apostles, but only that which all states have in religion by the law of nature, to preserve religion so as nothing be done against it or the public peace. For seeing Christian states are not instituted by God as that of the Jews [was], nor on terms of being Christians; the power which their rulers have in Christianity, is that, which all powers have in their several religions. Saving the difference of their persuasions, that common to all is no more than what I said. If their religions make all rulers of the religion, rulers in it, they shall be so, as the Caliphs in Mahumetism; otherwise not. But if [neither] our Lord nor the apostles ever gave the power of the keys to states, then giving them to states will alter the nature of the power as given to that purpose; which no Christian state pretends. [Question made of the Church's power of excommunication.]

§ 2. But for certain the power of the keys is the sovereignty of the Church. It might [have] been [formerly, but] it cannot be after us, a question, what is the chief point of sovereign power in a state. This time hath opened our eyes in England, that who hath it, and who ought to have, ought to be sovereign in the state. Power of making laws is great; but a coactive power is prerequisite to it, to give them force: for none [The power of the keys is the sovereignty of the Church.]

[a] For the probable date of this tract, see above in the preceding tract (§ 1. note a); which it follows in the MS. volume in the Westminster Chapter Library there referred to. Allusions in it seem to date it prior to the Restoration. It takes up and reviews the arguments of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 13—40; and Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. ix., xvii., xviii.—In one or two places the MS. is not clearly legible: as e. g. in line 2, of § 2, on this page.

power among us:—that among the Jews excommunication, or putting from the synagogue, was a secular punishment of outlawry or banishment, when it was complete; and when not complete, deprived no man of participation of mysteries of religion in the temple or synagogue:—[that,] the name of Synagogue being understood of the body of the nation, as is plain in many scriptures, it is as plain what it is to be put from it:—that, therefore, when our Lord saith, Let [him be] like unto ethnics and publicans, He does not speak of putting from mysteries of religion, to which heathens and publicans had access[d]. [Matt. xviii. 17.]

§ 5. As for the power of binding and loosing, by which title the Church holds this power: it is plain, [say they,] by the constitutions of the Jews, and the language they use in them, that a thing is said to be bound or loosed, when it is prohibited or permitted; which every doctor of the Law did amongst the Jews, when he declared this or that to be lawful or unlawful for a man to do by such and such a law of Moses, without excluding any man from the communion of God's service for it[e]. If it be this, it was a slight mistake upon which the whole Church in all ages from the apostles grounded the exercise of the sovereign power it has: for these objections take place before secular powers were converted to Christianity, proving that there is no such power in the Church as the Church. But if otherwise, it will prove a very light course, upon the signification of a word, or a custom otherwise practised under the Synagogue, to call in question that whole power by which Christianity was ruled, maintained, and propagated, when it had no rule but from the apostles, and by which the world was subdued to the Church. [Binding and loosing in the Church, more than declaring prohibited or permitted.]

§ 6. And indeed I must answer in such terms, by yielding all that these objections suppose, but by denying the consequence,—that therefore there is no power of excommunication by the keys of the Church,—because of the difference between the Church and the Synagogue. The [Jews'] state and religion stood both by those laws, which the people of God [Power of life and death under the Law answered to excommunication in the Church.]

[d] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 15. The MS. of the clause, "Let . . . publicans," in the text, is partly miswritten, and not all clearly legible.

[e] See ibid., and Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 39; and Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xviii. § 33.

was profaning God's name by their doctrine—(see how the servants of the true God agree),—besides destroying all imperial privileges under sovereigns; [being, by] lib. viii. c. *de Jud. et Cæl.*[m], privileged that their excommunications be not nullified by their governors.

§ 9. In this state Synagogue and Church grow like, though not on the same terms; for we are Christians, not by being circumcised and undertaking to live by Moses' law, in hope of inheritance in the land of promise, but by being baptized and undertaking to live in all that which Christ, Whom we profess Messias, hath taught us, in hope of life everlasting. And therefore, the Church standing upon the right of God's public service, to forfeit this right is to forfeit our communion in it; and to fail of what Christ commands, is to forfeit this right. [What it is to be put out of the Church.]

§ 10. The excommunicate then among the Jews were put out of the temple or synagogue, when they were fully excommunicate, by the Talmudists; for he is to dwell in a cottage alone, coming near no man, but having necessaries brought him from time to time[n]. And let me ask them, that think otherwise, whether they think those, that were excommunicate for Christ's name, might come to prayers in the synagogue; those, whom they curse in Justin and Epiphanius[o]. Perhaps it is a case that never fell out otherwise, that any would forsake his birth-right among his people for such things as neglecting the court, carrying his suit from thence. But that they laid all load upon him that should confess our Lord Messias, was necessary on their principles, John ix. 22; for then they should also be tied to follow Him and renounce themselves. [The excommunicate among the Jews were shut out from the prayers in the synagogue.]

§ 11. How our Lord Himself and His disciples were not under the penalty, let any man imagine. The truth is, because a prophet, and they His disciples, whose following Him they did not take to be the owning of Him to be the Christ, as that man; though sure they would have said as much as any, [Why our Lord and His disciples were not so.]

[m] Cod. Theodos., lib. xvi. tit. viii. De Judæis, Cœlicolis, et Samaritanis. The eighth law of the title provides, that the civil authority shall not restore any who are excommunicated by the Jewish spiritual rulers. See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 79, note h.

[n] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 30, 37; Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xviii. § 10.

[o] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 37, notes i, k; and above, in The Church's Right to Tithes, § 5, notes c, d.

had they been put to it. But having put Him to death for it, [and] by consequence seeking to put those that confess Him to the same, of necessity they must put them from their prayers.

[Of those who were under ἀφορισμὸς in the Church.]

§ 12. Those, that come in temple or synagogue, are not excommunicate, but set apart and in the way to it: which, if they reconcile not themselves, necessarily fall under it; because not to stand to the sovereign judicatory that Judaism had, must needs be interpreted renouncing Judaism. But those that were under *ἀφορισμὸς* in the Church, did they not come in Church, as now they do[p]? They were seated apart indeed (and so they would be now, if the discipline of the Church were not lost with the power of the keys), and they came not to the eucharist till fully restored; but so soon as excommunication was abated, they had some communion with the Church, which they recovered by these degrees. I say nothing of that which hath been learnedly answered already[q]: —that under this less excommunication they were to be at a distance as well in the temple and synagogue as at home.

[Ἀνάθεμα, that is, ישמאתא.]

§ 13. You will say *ἀνάθεμα* or Samatha is the third degree of excommunication, and therefore Christians are excluded their prayers[r]; but it follows not, therefore all excommunicate. But this grants all *ἀποσυνάγωγοι* in the Gospel in the same cause with Christians. And indeed there can be but one absolute excommunication; but there may be a degree to it, and there may be a solemnity of it not common to all crimes that fall under it. Such a one [was] Christianity, and therefore had it. For he, that is put from the society, cannot be more; and till he be cut off, he is not excommunicate but in part, and in the way to it. And so there was *ἀφορισμὸς* in the Church, in the Constitutions of the Apostles; and so the apostle denounces "*ἀνάθεμα μαραναθὰ*" to those, that "love not the Lord Jesus" (1 Cor. xvi. 22); that is, open enemies of Christianity.

[How excommunication is

§ 14. But still the question is, how excommunication is signified by being as a publican or ethnic. Anybody will easily

[p] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 36.

[q] Scil. by Hammond: see ibid., note g.

[r] See Review of Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xi. § 4; Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xviii. § 1.

grant me, that the apostle speaks of the Church to the Church, not of the Synagogue to the Synagogue: that is, that this precept, and the right here settled, was intended to stand when Judaism was to be void. And I will grant him in turn, that his expressions are drawn from what was then in use in the Synagogue. And then I will tell him, that there was during Judaism another figurative kind of abstention from the company of the Synagogue upon reasons of figure. As was that of the leprous out of the camp, whom no man by express law was to come near, besides other uncleannesses. Which drew on another from ethnics or those that kept company with ethnics, figured by the wild [honey] and locusts of the land, not expressed in the Law but by the statutes of the consistory. For there is a moral reason, why all should forbear the company of contrary religions, especially idolaters: but why it should be done so scrupulously as by the Jews,—that when they conversed with them in the market, they should not think themselves clean till they had washed (as you see in the Gospel),—and why it should extend to such as had conversed with them (as in Cornelius), which was the reason of forbearing publicans,—must be attributed to the use they had of abominating things unclean, enlarged by the consistory; whose decrees our Lord commands His disciples to obey, Matt. xxiii. 2, 3, for these cases. Certainly, the Law expressly tolerating such as Cornelius in the land, the complaint had never been such against Peter for eating with him, but for his conversing with ethnics. So it is no marvel, if publicans were of this form, who reckoned with their masters.

[signified by being as a heathen or publican.]

[Levit. xiii. 46.]

[Mark vii. 4.]

[Acts x. 28.]

§ 15. This reason of abstaining is expressly taken away by Christianity, as you see by St. Paul, 1 Cor. v. 9—11: but, the reason taken away, the effect remains, for another reason, which the apostle plainly signifies in the next words; and our Lord the thing, by the abomination the Jews had of those things that were under this ceremonial way, which we may well call a figure of the excommunication of the Church.

[Of conversing with Gentiles.]

§ 16. But it is better to begin with the power of the keys; that is, of David's house or the kingdom of heaven (Apoc. iii. 7, Esai. xxii. 22, Matt. xvi. 19, 20); which, being His, our Lord gives His apostles and St. Peter, John xx. 23, and therefore the Church, Matt. xviii. 18—20. Ask how the

[Power of the keys in baptism.]

of[t]; [and,] as it is controverted, all divines of sense make far from the foundation of faith. Insomuch that some very Reformed [divines] dispute, [that] it is "*βαπτιζομένων διδαχὴ*," in the plural number[u]. For the concrete or subject is not "baptisms;" for who ever heard of more than one in the Church, but madmen, Circumcellions[v], and enthusiasts? The same difficulty lies against them, that would have the doctrine of confirmation to be the doctrine of imposition of hands which the apostle speaks of[x]. For who ever heard confirmation reckoned among the principles of faith? But as "the doctrine of baptisms" is that which was taught such as were baptized, so of imposition of hands. Now we know by Clemens[y], that those which stood to be Christians, when they were catechized, were dismissed by the priest that catechized them, with his blessing, that is, praying for them with imposition of hands; as we know by the Constitutions[z], that they were dismissed the Church likewise. So that the "doctrine of baptisms" and "imposition of hands" is all one,—that which they were catechized in with imposition of hands. And by this we see, what is "laying the foundation of repentance from dead works:" that is, the profession of turning from those works which they had lived in, whereby the apostle convinceth Jews and Gentiles to be remediless without Christ, Rom. i. and ii. Therefore St. Peter to the converts, Acts ii. 38; "Repent and be baptized." And the Baptist, Luke iii. 3, preaches "the baptism of repentance to remission of sins." And our Lord;—"Repent and believe the Gospel." And by Justin Martyr[a] we understand, that to stand for baptism was to profess repentance. [Mark i. 15.]

§ 20. If therefore those, who came to Christianity, were to submit themselves to be instructed in the faith, and to profess [Remission of sins by those who baptize.]

[t] For Dell's book, see Letter conc. the Present State of Religion, § 11, and Epil, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. vi. § 4; and the references there.

[u] An interpretation equivalent to this is quoted from Gomarus, ap. Poli Synops. ad locum.

[v] They were the "zealots" of the Donatists: see Tillemont, Mémoires &c., tom. vi. art. Donatistes, article xxxvii.

[x] So Estius, Menochius, Ribera; ap. Poli Synops. ad locum."

[y] Quoted in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 17, note q; but in Epil., Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxx. § 19, the same passage is interpreted of imposition of hands in marriage.

[z] Const. Apost., lib. vii. c. 39; ap. Coteler., PP. Apost. tom. i. p. 382. So also in the Clementina, Hom. iii. § 72; ibid. p. 656. And Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 17, note r.

[a] Apol. I. c. 61; Op. p. 80. B. C.

the Holy Ghost; as the Pharisees did, when, though they were convinced that our Lord's miracles were done by the Holy Ghost, yet they wilfully blasphemed that they were done by "the prince of the devils:" the same that St. Stephen charges them with, Acts vii. 51,—that they "always resisted the Holy Ghost," in refusing the miracles He did to convert them:—here, over and above, blaspheming. Wherefore the apostle saith, "it is impossible for them *ἀνακαινισθῆναι εἰς μετάνοιαν*:" not, to "repent;" but, as *ἐγκαινισθῆναι* is to be catechized, so that *ἐγκαινισθῆναι εἰς μετάνοιαν* is to be instructed, as those that stood for baptism, unto repentance fit to make them Christians, then *ἀνακαινισθῆναι εἰς μετάνοιαν* is to be dedicated anew to it[d]. Which when the apostle says is "impossible," he says, that they cannot be admitted again to the Church by penance. And those that are in that state only are fully excommunicate.

[Analogy of the Jews' constitutions.]

§ 24. This sense is confirmed by that other passage of the same epistle, x. 26:—"For if we sin wilfully after having received the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin." For, writing to Hebrew Christians, he argueth from that which they knew to be in use in their sacrifices. Sacrifices were offered for heathens in the temple (as for the king of Persia, Ez. vi. 10, vii. 23; for the Roman emperors, in Philo[e] and Josephus[f]); as Solomon had expressed at the dedication of the temple, 1 Reg. viii. 41. But by the Jews' constitutions in Maimoni[g], no sacrifice was received of apostates. Corresponding whereunto the apostle declares, that apostates must not expect to be re-admitted to the prayers of the Church.

[Case of Esau.]

§ 25. An argument of the former exposition you have, Heb. xii. 16, 17; when he saith,—"Esau found no place of repentance, though he sought it with tears:"—arguing by his example, that apostates from Christianity must not look to

[d] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 23.

[e] Sacrifices were offered in the temple at Augustus' expense, according to Philo, De Virtutibus et Legatione ad Caium, Op. tom. ii. p. 592.

[f] "Ἔτι δὲ αὐτῷ κατίοντι ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν, ἀπαντήσαντες τῶν ἱερέων τινὲς καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἠσπάζοντο, καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπεδείκνυον ἃς ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασίλεως ἔλεγον προσφέρειν τῷ Θεῷ." Joseph., Antiq. Jud., lib. xii. c. 10. § 5; vol. i. p. 550. ed. Huds. Josephus is speaking of Nicanor attacking Judas Maccabeus in Jerusalem, not of the Roman emperors. Ibid., lib. xviii. c. 6. § 3. vol. ii. p. 806, he relates, that Vitellius offered sacrifices in the temple.

[g] Quoted in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 24, note e.

men of learning[d] that I will allege no further to prove it. And it is well known, that for those that had once been admitted to penance, if they fell again, that they were not to be admitted the second time[e]: therefore they remained fully excommunicate. As for the admitted, it may be said, that they were in a sort excommunicate (as now it is the less); but absolutely they were not, because, when they fell dangerously sick, they were of right to communicate upon the condition aforesaid: "*anathema maranatha*" being nothing but an aggravation of excommunication upon those that declared themselves open enemies to Christianity, as saith the apostle. [1 Cor. xvi. 32.]

§ 34. You will ask, if it be thus, wherein lay then the heresy of the Novatians, if they only practised what the apostle prescribes. I answer, the words of the apostle are a commination to sinners, not a precept to the Church. He saith, "It is impossible for them to be restored;" he saith not, It is not lawful for the Church to restore them. That is, though they left this severity of discipline in practice, yet they bound not the Church to exact it, when the exacting of it proved dissolution of the unity of the Church. Therefore they are deceived, that think the rigour of the ancient canons was an affectation of severity taken up by human weakness. Examine it who will, the further from the apostles, the looser he shall find the discipline of the Church. And when it was forced visibly to abate the strictness of the apostles, to avoid breaches; Novatianus therefore making a breach, not to communicate with apostates, [his followers] became not heretics but schismatics. As their forefathers the Montanists; not for their severity in fasting and continence, but in parting from the Church for it. As their offspring the Donatists; not for not communicating with "traitors[f]," but for parting with the Church rather than do it. [Wherein lay the heresy of the Novatians.]

§ 35. This is the ancient discipline of penance, grounded on the power of excommunication by the keys of the Church, and making up the hedge of Christianity. There is a key of knowledge indeed[g], whereof Christ upbraids the Scribes and [Excommunication is more than the exercise of the key of knowledge.]

[d] See Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ix. § 18; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 4, sq.

[e] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 20, note q; Epil., Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 7, notes o, p, q, r, s.

[f] Scil. "traditores."

[g] See Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xv. § 29.

2 Thess. iii. 14, 15: "If any man obey not our word by letter, note such a one, and converse not with him, that he may be ashamed: but hold him not for an enemy, but warn him as a brother," with private admonitions after public. A great argument of reverence to public government, and the great unity which it produced; when upon admonitions and reproofs particular Christians withdrew familiarity. But that which St. Paul speaks of here, is a higher degree, when no man of the Church should so much as "eat with" the excommunicate; which without scruple they did with Gentiles. The same to Titus, iii. 10: "A heretic after the second and third admonition avoid;" that is, totally, with the Church, which you see followed the pastor; for otherwise, then before those admonitions[k].

[Of avoiding heathens and publicans.]

§ 41. There is time to shew, how this answers the avoiding of heathens and publicans under Judaism, in answering objections[l].

[Courts Christian, of what causes they take cognizance.]

§ 42. The last argument shall be from the solution of a great difficulty in Matt. xviii. 16: because our Lord speaks manifestly of matters of wrong from party to party, whereupon if excommunication should follow, really Christianity must overthrow all civil government, and bring the cognizance of all causes to the authority that holds by title and in behalf of the Church. I answer, that it was then understood, that the power of the synagogue must consist in this, in case their sovereigns allowed them no other power: for if suits of their law be brought afore Gentiles, reverence of religion could not be supported. The same our Lord shews to be necessary in the Church. For though to every one He command to take wrong rather than sin, yet, because He knew that wrong would be done in things not so easy to judge as to make either part excommunicable, and right must be sought, He provides hereby, that pleas go not out of the Church, but be ended within doors, that Christianity be not scandalized thereby[m]. That this was in force in the Church, is manifest by 1 Cor.

[k] See Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ix. § 19—21, &c.

[l] These tracts were probably intended to be worked up into a revised edition of the Rt. of Ch. in Chr. State; and contain accordingly some references to passages which do not occur in the tracts themselves, as here, and in the fourth tract, § 8.

[m] See above in § 8, note l; and Epil., Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 4, note a.

vi.: for how should the apostle reprove them for carrying their suits abroad, if the rule were not found within themselves? And that no mention there of excommunication, no marvel; for no effect in it in time of schism. Though yet we say not, in whom the power of judging lies by title and in behalf of the Church. Besides, St. James manifestly shows, [James ii. 2, 3.] that among the Jews converted, to whom he writes, it was in use in the Church as in the Synagogue: for if he speak of the Church, it would be then unlawful, that in our churches men should sit higher or lower according to their rank in civil society; whereby Christianity would dissolve commonwealths: James ii. 2—8. No: the "synagogue" the apostle speaks of, is the court of justice, which was among them ordinarily held in the synagogue where they assembled for Divine service; as in Christian churches for ecclesiastical causes: shewing, that their causes as Christians were judged as before, saving the rule of Christianity, which the apostle calls their great "law of liberty," and the "royal law;" to [James ii. 8, 12.] wit, "Love thy neighbour as thyself." Therefore in the beginning: "Have not the faith of our glorious Lord Christ [James ii. 1.] Jesus with respect of persons." If under the Law it is prohibited to respect persons in judgment, much more under the Gospel (Lev. xix. 15, Deut. i. 17, xvi. 19, Ex. xxiii. 3): as he saith afterwards, "If you accept persons, you are condemned [James ii. 9.] by the Law." And therefore, "are ye not become judges of evil thoughts," saith he, if ye make difference within yourselves; if ye bid the one party "sit, and the poor stand." For this is the firm ground of this exposition, that the Jews' constitutions determine, that in the court the judges shall not bid one part sit, the other stand, though never so rich or poor, lest they seem to respect persons contrary to the Law[n]. And hence scourging in synagogues (Deut. xxv. 1[—3]), because of penance, to those that were not excommunicated by death: Matt. x. 17, 23, 34; and in Eusebius' Histories[o], and Epiphanius[p].

§ 43. This being then the original right of the Church in excommunication by the keys of it, the necessary protection which all states owe the Church, where they maintain Chris- [The Christian state bound to aid the

[n] De Synedriis et Pœnis, c. xxi. p. 133.—See also Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 39.

[o] Quoted in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 53, note o.

[p] Quoted, ibid., c. i. § 39, note l.

there be also other kinds of causes, wherein, because that charity which is proper to Christianity seems specially interessed, therefore it seems they cannot be so well managed for the advancement of Christianity, which ought to be the aim of all public resolutions of Christians, as by that power that stands by the Church. Wherein a latitude may be taken by Christian states, to refer them to ecclesiastical persons or discharge; which they must use as is most proper to the said purpose.

§ 46. But this is nothing to the ignorance of the Scottish presbyteries (whose practices you may see in the Burden of Issachar[s], and cannot be ignorant of by the great disorder [that is] towards here), in making the matter of all laws subject to excommunication and the presbyteries. In regard whereof, all the tyranny of the pope, in excommunicating princes, and giving away thereupon their dominions, may seem a light thing; if we consider, that, proceeding on the same principle of the imperial interesse accruing upon ecclesiastical right, and excommunication to enforce it extending to all persons and causes, it must needs come to the same point, wheresoever faction can shew those that hold by the Church hope to effect their designs in any state whatsoever: besides the continual confusion in public and private affairs, that must needs follow, if pretence be opened of seeking temporal rights upon interesse of the Church. [The Scotch presbyteries worse than the popes in this business.]

§ 47. But if it be once received, that the outward jurisdiction of the Church cannot [be] extended further than those causes that arise upon the constitution of it, and that [not] further than open sins which void and forfeit it: neither can preachers meddle with state-affairs in their pulpits, till they openly profess sins that cannot stand with Christianity (seeing that proceedings of state [are[t]] necessarily secret, and of justice not discernable to those that are not informed as judges in the cause); nor popes excommunicate, unless they will leave themselves punishable by laws if subjects, or [have their] excommunications scorned as void. And if it be received, that no temporal effect follows by God's law on ecclesiastical censures; neither can the pope pretend to void any man's estate, [No inconvenience can arise from Church discipline duly limited.]

[s] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 83. note a.

[t] Miswritten, "being," in the MS.

if he have cause to excommunicate, nor presbyteries think by their excommunication to enforce justice in secular causes whereof by the constitutions of the Church they have not cognizance. And so it can be no inconvenience, that any person, even sovereigns, be subject to excommunication[u]; seeing the effect of it, in turning all men from the company of them, must needs cease in all subjects, and [in] him no less than in particular persons, in wives and children towards fathers and husbands, the bond of obedience remaining as firm, as a man's goods [remain] his own.

[u] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 80—83; Epil., Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 39—43.

THE CHURCH'S LEGISLATIVE POWER, AS FOUND IN SCRIPTURE.

'TIVE POWER.

THE CHURCH'S LEGISLATIVE POWER, AS FOUND IN SCRIPTURE[a].

THE ground whereupon particular congregations are made independent, is, that no Christian be obliged by any order or common act, whereof he is not satisfied in conscience that it is agreeable to God's word. And therefore they tie not themselves to plurality of votes, but debate the matter till all be satisfied; and if then some few dissent without reason, which the preceding debate supposes they cannot have, they are punished by the neglect of their votes for that time[b]. For otherwise they, that are redeemed by the Blood of Christ, should become servants to men, against the apostle (1 Cor. vii. 23); and worship God with human inventions; and that perhaps against some man's conscience. And upon these terms they think themselves intrenched in such a fastness, that they cannot be approached; and have on Pluto's helmet[c], that no offence shall hit them which they acknowledge. For the Scripture being all inspired by the Holy Ghost, whatsoever can be brought out of it against this position, they will attribute to revelation of the same Spirit, to which they acknowledge themselves therefore bound; but not so to every act of man agreed upon without that assistance, not including the consent of those that are to be ruled by it in particular. [Ground of Independency.]

§ 2. So that upon the matter the effect of this position is, that there is in the Church no power to make any law to oblige the members of it; seeing upon new light every Christian [It assumes that the Church has no power to

[a] This tract follows the two preceding, in the MS. referred to in note a, to § 1 of the first of them. It is obviously of the same date: and takes up the arguments of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 23, 35; c. iv. § 13, sq.; and elsewhere.

[b] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 8, note i.

[c] "Αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη Δῦν' Ἄϊδος κυνέην, μὴ μιν ἴδοι ὀβριμος Ἄρης." Hom. Il. vv. 844, 845.

tions at command, but as God sent them. And, therefore, when public necessities required, even they also were to proceed without actual revelation, upon the habitual understanding, to which perhaps the revelations which God had granted might contribute. As the Jews say, the prophets were chosen into the consistory, worthily without doubt, as fittest to season the court with their holiness and knowledge, not as expecting that God should speak by them in particular causes[f].

§ 5. Consider now the case of the council at Jerusalem. There were prophets at Antiochia, to whom the revelation is sent, by which Paul and Barnabas are employed: Acts xiii. 1,2. Barnabas himself was no less: Acts xiii. 1. And St. Paul, as he was, so no doubt was he then acknowledged by that Church so to be. Why then send they to Jerusalem to be resolved about circumcision, the Holy Ghost speaking as infallibly by one of them as by all the apostles? Because "the Spirit bloweth," as well when, as "where, it listeth." Because "the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets." Because God is the God "of order, and not of confusion" (1 Cor. xiv. 32, 33); and therefore, even in the dispensation of those graces, provided, that none on pretence of revelation should violate order, by which unity standeth; and therefore enableth prophets to judge of revelations made to prophets. For in this case Barnabas was deputed by the apostles at Jerusalem (Acts xi. 22); and Saul, though in truth "an apostle, called by God" (as he averreth Gal. i. 1, sq.), yet not acknowledged such by the Church, had been only assumed by Barnabas to assist in this charge (Acts xi. 25). And therefore, according to rule, a case concerning the whole Church resorteth to them, whom all the power of the Church was trusted with[g]. Accordingly consider how they proceed. Do not the apostles argue with human discourse, and prove their resolution by what had passed, and by Scripture (Acts xv. 7, 15)? Is this revelation? Or is it the use of human reason exalted by revelations granted themselves as well as the prophets, as is by the same recorded?

[Prophets at the council of Jerusalem subject to the ordinary authority of that council.]

[John iii. 8.]

[f] Compare Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. ii. § 13, 14; and Review of it, c. ii. § 5: and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., cc. iii. § 19, iv. § 40.

[g] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 8—10.

[Immediate revelations often granted at public assemblies.]

§ 6. It is manifest, indeed, by divers passages, that God many times granted immediate revelations at the time and upon the occasion of public assemblies. As when Barnabas and Saul were sent (Acts xiii. 2); when Timothy was ordained by prophecy (1 Tim. iv. 14); as to the prophets at Corinth in the act of teaching the Church (1 Cor. xiv. 24, 25, 29, 30); as to Jekeziel the Levite at the fast of Josaphat (2 Chron. xx. 14). And so Clemens[h] said, that St. John ordained "such as were signified by the Spirit:" in which sense certainly St. Paul saith to the priests of Ephesus (Acts xx. 28), that "the Holy Ghost" had "made them overseers to feed the flock of Christ."

[And probably at the council of Jerusalem.]

§ 7. And, for my part, by these examples I do believe, that in this council there passed some revelation of God to some present, that it was His pleasure, not that circumcision and the ceremonial law should cease, which St. Peter and St. James knew by other means (as you see by their speeches), but that the restraint of sacrificed, things strangled, and blood, was according to His will and pleasure. And that is signified Acts xv. 28; "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." But had not this come, must the council have assembled in vain, and the apostles gone home unresolved? Or must the work of the Church [have] gone forwards? as you see it must have done at those assemblies, where you saw revelations were sometimes granted; [yet] had they not been granted, it must have done. And therefore you see the effect of that decree in the Churches for whom it is made, Acts xvi. 4, 5. It is delivered to them, and no question made on their part about the accepting of it, but they are thereupon "strengthened and multiplied."

[Yet the decree rested on the ordinary authority of the Church.]

§ 8. By all which it appears, that the act is a necessary appeal to the authority, which God hath placed in His Church, with power to oblige it to take their resolutions, though without privilege of speaking by the Holy Ghost, as this doth.

[Of the veiling of women at Divine service.]

§ 9. And herewith agrees St. Paul's discourse partly, 1 *ad Cor.* xiv.; but wholly xi. (The fourteenth [is] touched already.) The question is there about women, that they are to veil

[h] Quoted in Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. iv. § 13; and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 40. See also Rt. of Ch. &c., ibid., § 22, 23.

their faces at the public service of God. The apostle's reasons [are] all such as any governor of a Church would use; and at last [he] resorts to that, which all ecclesiastical society must resort to,—that custom in the Church makes law to the Church, as in other societies. "If any man seem to be [contentious," &c.] Set aside for the present, who gave first force to this custom: though no question [it was] the apostle. Had it been done on special revelation, had it not been easy for St. Paul to say so, and end the debate? Now that it is Scripture is matter of Divine faith to us: that it was God's immediate command, [was] no matter of Divine faith to them; though bound by the law of God to keep it, by which he that hears Christ, hears the apostles. [1 Cor. 16.] [Luke 16.]

§ 10. And so in the matter which the apostle ordereth by the fourteenth of the epistle. It is more strange, that those that receive revelations, should still be ordered both in the matter and manner of propounding them. But the ground is the will of God, by which He had stablished ecclesiastical power in His apostles, from them to be derived upon those whom they should think fit to trust with it; not to be prejudiced by any graces He should grant for the edification thereby of the Church: for they should so be dispensed, that none should pretend thereupon to change the order established; whereas each man's revelations must be judged by other men's, and all be subject to that comeliness and order, from which the apostle himself fetches the reason of the foresaid constitution of women veiling their head at Divine service. [Revelations of prophets subject to Church order.]

§ 11. Compare herewith the privilege of prophets under the Law: so great, that who was received a prophet, might dispense in any positive law. [So] the Rabbies[1] censure it; and it is plain by Elias. And the reason manifest;—because, why any law stood, was no more but because God had revealed Himself so by Moses; if therefore He revealed Himself otherwise by one that by the Law is to be received a prophet, it is to cease accordingly: as He prescribeth by the Law, Deut. xviii. 15. This being the right of a prophet, notwithstanding, the prophets themselves were subject to the great [Prophets under the Law, how subject to the Law [1 Kings xviii. 36 sq.]

[1] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 16: and Review of it, c. ii. § 11, c. iv. § 8; Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xv. § 7—13.

easily see the effect of it in all those constitutions, which are seen in the books following the Law[m]: as that of going to the prophets on Sabbaths, and festivals; that of keeping the feast of Lots, and the Dedication, which our Lord Himself observed; the whole service of God in the synagogues, whereof there is not a tittle in the Law, unless we extend unto them (as by reason we are to do) Lev. xix. 30,—"Thou shalt keep My Sabbaths, and reverence My sanctuaries;"—the rules and customs of their public feasts, intimated Joel ii. 13, 16, 17, Jonas iii. 5, 6, Esai. liii. 3; the times of fasting prescribed, Zac. vii. 1, 3, 5, viii. 19; fashions of mourning, Zac. xii. 12—14; abstaining from the meat of Gentiles, Dan. i. 8. These, and many more, so conscientiously observed, enforce lesser matter; and therefore, not by these scriptures, but by this power settled by the Law upon the High Court. And so now, if it be not the very same case under the Gospel, abating corporal punishment.

[2 Kings iv. 23; Esther ix. 27, 28; John x. 22, 23.]

§ 15. For it is agreed on all hands, that there is many times general mention of traditions; that is, of orders and constitutions and customs, delivered to the Church, which Christians are commanded to observe and commended for observing: so they were in force. Again, there is particular mention of many customs in force in the Church at that time. As those in the eleventh to the Corinthians, 1st [Epistle], of feasts of love, and veiling or not veiling: and some shall be named afterwards. And those in force, not by virtue of the scriptures that mention them, being in force before they were scriptures; and this by Divine faith: but no faith, Divine or human, that by revelation settled, but by the power God had given His apostles in the Church; which if it were to cease, how say we that it could be revived? but if the purpose of order for unity were to continue, then this, without which it could not. At the least, we have frequent admonitions, exhortations, and precepts, to obey those to whom the apostles have committed this power; in what degree and upon what terms soever, which here is not disputed yet: as Heb. xiii. 16, 17, 2 Thess. iii. 14, 15; as to Timothy and Titus, and wheresoever the charge of rulers is

[And of the Christian.]

[1 Cor. xi. 1, sq., 20, sq.]

[1 Tim. iv. 11, 12, v. 1—22; Tit.

[m] See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. ii. § 24; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 13—15.

i. 5, 13, iii. 10, 11; Acts xx. 28.] pressed, as to the elders of Ephesus; all that being vain, if the people [be] not tied to obedience.

[Constitutions of the Church enforced by excommunication.] § 16. As for the use of excommunication, you have it clearly delivered by our Lord in such cases as essentially concern not the society of the Church; no way but as by reason of scandal, if a man will not stand to the sentence of those, who on behalf of the Church shall decide his interesse. And will it then stand with common sense to deny, that public order was then to be enforced by it, because it is not mentioned when laws ecclesiastical are mentioned? For if we suppose people obedient to pastors, as then we must suppose, neither the Spirit of God nor any common sense can think fit to mention excommunication, so harsh a thing to those that deserve it. But if in matter of interesse, for retaining of unity, our Lord hath expressly provided it, as in the Synagogue death, which came to it naturally in another estate, in all causes that might become of difference in both societies upon the orders given them of Divine right; much more in things necessarily to be determined, that there may be order in the subject of communion in the Church, either there is no power to determine, or the sovereign power must enforce it.

[What "weakness" it is which the apostle forbears.] § 17. Now, to answer the difficulties proposed, we must consider the case, wherein the apostle ties to forbear weak consciences; and we shall see it holds not in things determined by the Church. The weakness, whereof the apostle Rom. xiv., seems to be that, to which those were subject, that [being] converted from Judaism had not learned the freedom of Christians from legal observances. This his words intimate.

[Rom. xiv. 2, 5.] "One thinks he may eat all things; another, that is weak, eateth herbs: .. one observeth days; to another all days are alike." For why "eat herbs" for "weakness," but for fear of eating flesh from the Gentiles sacrificed to idols; which Daniel forbore by [the] Jews' constitutions[n]. For Christianity distinguishes with St. Paul (1 Cor. viii. 7):—that some eat things sacrificed to idols formally, as sacrificed to idols; which conscience of the idol he supposes[o], and proves, to be not only pollution to the conscience, but (1 Cor. x. 14, 19, 20, sq.)

[n] See Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences &c., sect. iii. § 4, note q.

[o] The MS. is not clearly legible in these words: and the word "as" stands before "he supposes," apparently by an oversight.

misprision of idolatry, in communicating with idolaters; others only materially, that is, a thing sacrificed to idols as "God's creature," because "the earth is the Lord's and all the fulness of it[p]" (1 Cor. x. 26). The liberty of Christians then extending to such things, it was "weakness" to "enquire for conscience' sake," if what was offered to be sold, or set afore one when no pretence of honouring idols [, were such]. And this [is] that St. Paul speaks of there, because it follows of difference of days, which fell out between Jews and Gentiles, and of difference of meats and drinks, as Heb. xiii. 9;—"It is good the heart be settled with grace, not with meats, that have not profited those that walked in them."

[The tenor of the whole epistle.]

§ 18. Besides, mark the sense of the epistle; and you will see the tenor of it concerns what fell questionable between Jews and Gentiles, converted and to be retained in the unity of one Church[q].

[Grotius' exposition not tenable.]

§ 19. For those reasons I set aside Grotius his exposition[r]; of those, that among the Christians might out of scruple eat herbs, as not fitting to eat living things for Christians. Indeed he shews very learnedly, that many Christians, for exercise and subduing the flesh, abstained from flesh wholly at the beginning; but those were not weak but strong, and not like to censure others. But that any did it out of scruple, which so soon after out of conscience was the heresy of Tatianus and the Encratites, he shews us no example.

[What St. Paul commanded.]

§ 20. What is it then the apostle commands to forbear the weak in? Not to scorn them that made enquiry, not to vex them, or provoke them to think there was idolatry in Christianity, that eat sacrifices, which the Jews scrupulously enquired after; and so depart from it: as Rom. xiv. 15, "Destroy him for whom Christ died." Wherein the Corinthians? In the idol's temple (1 Cor. viii. 10), at an invitation among Gentiles, when a weak Christian tells them of it (1 Cor. x. 28); lest a weak Christian by thy freedom fall into misprision of idolatry, formally eating as sacrificed to idols.

[p] See Plea of Weakness &c., sect. iii. § 4.

[q] See ibid., sect. ii. § 1, sect. iii. § 5, 6.

[r] So Grotius, ad Rom. xiv. 1, 2; concluding a most learned array of evidence thus,—"Poterant ergo tolerari inter Christianos non modo qui exercitamenti causa, verum etiam qui ex opinione aut veteri more animatis abstinebant, dum ne eo procederent confidentiæ, ut alios aliter viventes abominarentur."

[Both at Rome and at Corinth the thing questioned was free.]

§ 21. But both cases suppose the thing free: which at Jerusalem it was not, nor Antiochia, and those Churches to which the decree was given; as made for them where Christianity came in by the Jews, and they were to be retained. There the same enquiry after things sacrificed, which the Jews after Daniel used, is recommended: and therefore not free to the Church there. Whereas at Rome, being equally constituted of Jews and Gentiles, where danger to make Jews fall away, or Corinth, more of Gentiles, the danger being to make Gentiles idolaters by use of lawful freedom, the apostle commands to abate it.

[St. Paul withstood the imposition of legal customs, even at the risk of schism.]

§ 22. On the other side, when Jewish Christians imposed legal observations as necessary on the Gentiles, not out of weakness, it is manifest St. Paul requires not to forbear them, though schism arise upon it: Gal. ii. 5, Tit. i. 14, Heb. xiii. 9, sq.

["Weakness" no excuse for disobedience.]

§ 23. Therefore the sum is, that particular Christians, their freedom not determined by order of the Church, for charity are to abate it; but that the Church may determine their freedom, as the apostles at Jerusalem in eating such and such creatures, the apostle in complying with the Jews. It is requisite indeed, that the Church consider whether expedient to determine the freedom of particular Christians, which all laws do. For we see that free at Rome and Corinth, which was not at Jerusalem. But, being determined, the offence of private Christians is taken at the laws, [and] given against laws, and those that give offences to be avoided: Rom. xvi. 17. And if separation from those that obey not, then of those that obey not. But if laws [are to be] changed for pretence of weakness, the bond of unity, the universal good, must be dissolved; and will-worship enacted, in thinking God served by abstaining from what He hath freed the Church, [as the Church] by authority from Him determines.

[Of will-worship.]

§ 24. This answers the other [objection:—that] it is will-worship to tender to God for His service wherein His service consists not[s]. So all idolatry is will-worship, though not all will-worship idolatry. Man, being sensible of a duty to God, and not willing to pay it in the kind of spiritual obedience

[s] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 27, sq.; and Review of it, c. iv. § 11—14.

He requires, thought to expiate sins by the first-born of his body, and sacrifices devised of themselves; Mic. vi. 7. The Jews tender, for expiation of sins and discharge of duty, sacrifices and festivals; which though commanded, being without faith and obedience, He scorns: Esai. i. 11 [—14], Jer. vii. 22. Much more, when they pretend to discharge themselves by traditions of the elders, as if the worship of God consisted in them: as appears not only Matt. xv. 9, but by the constitutions remaining[t], which shew, that righteousness was placed in them by the Scribes and Pharisees, which our Saviour teaches Christians to exceed. [Matt. v. 20.]

§ 25. *Ἐθελοθρησκεία* also seems reproved in the Colossians, [c.] ii., last verses; because the humility there mentioned is afore condemned, as leading to worship angels, and coming from pride of carnal minds, pressing into things unseen. And it is said, "having indeed;" the *μὲν* without *δὲ*: which in the *ἀπόδοσις*, if it had come in, must have expressed some blame:—"Which things have in them indeed a reason of wisdom in will-worship and humility and not sparing the body, being in no esteem as to the filling of the flesh." [*Ἐθελοθρησκεία* in St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians.]

§ 26. And Eusebius[u] useth it of the Jews in the former sense: Epiphanius[x], *ἐθελοθρησκείαν* or *ἐθελοδικαιοσύνην*, of the Messalians, Novatians, and some Montanists, in dispraise. And the subject seems this: some leaven of Cerinthus. For Epiphanius makes him one of them that pressed the Law at Antioch[y]. Thence went he to spread his leaven in Asia, say Epiphanius[z] and Eusebius[a]. He taught, that the world was made by the angels, saith Irenæus[b]. These legal observances, [of] which the apostle complains, were imposed on the Colossians upon pretence of revelation by angels. So by the circumstance of these particulars it should seem, that worship of angels and legal observances were taught upon pretence of mediating access to God by the angels from whence those doctrines come: Col. ii. 18—23. [In Epiphanius and Eusebius.]

[t] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 27.
[u] Quoted in Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 14, note b.
[x] Quoted ibid., note c.
[y] See Epil., Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. vii. § 7.
[z] See ibid., § 9, and § 14, notes z, a, and § 22, note x.
[a] See ibid., § 14, note b, and § 22, note a.
[b] See ibid., § 2, 5, 10; and c. xv. § 4: and S. Iren., Adv. Hæreses, lib. i. c. 25. p. 102.

[No will-worship in observing Church-laws.]

§ 27. For these reasons, though the substance of that which is taught,—that voluntary worship is most pleasing to God,—is most true, yet for the sense of this place I count it condemned, as not signified here by ἐθελοθρησκεία. So will-worship may be in things forbidden and in things commanded by God, much more by the Synagogue. But is it necessary there should be will-worship in observing the constitutions of it? Then God commanded it by the Law, which gave power to determine. Then our Lord Christ was guilty of it, when He observed their traditions and commanded them to be observed, reprehending the will-worship they annexed. Then the apostle also, complying with the Law; even according to the constitutions, as in St. Paul's shaving his head, punctually agreeing with the Talmudists[c]. Nor is it to be denied but there may be will-worship in observing ecclesiastical ceremonies, if men place holiness in them: but that is no ground to take them away, the use of that power being absolutely necessary for preservation of order, unity, and comeliness, by determining such things as are left by God's law indeterminate; whereas those, that submit not, fall into the negative will-worship [afore] mentioned, [of] thinking it great holiness not to do them, and further of destroying those that submit; [that is,] into that of the Jews against Christians, John xvi. 2.

[Acts xviii. 18.]

[Limit of Church-laws.]

§ 28. Let us see then, how far this power extends, and what are the particulars wherein it takes hold. The power of the Church in determining matters of faith had never been questioned, had it not been extended beyond the bounds. That which St. Paul [calls] the obedience of faith, is the very life of that grace; in submitting assent to all revealed by God, whereof reason evidences not the truth, extending to all the Church comes informed to be revealed, either in equivalent terms or by necessary consequence. To yield this submission to any thing taught by man, otherwise than by man's teaching we learn it to be taught by God, is superstition, will-worship, and serving men; being [enforced] by God to believe Him alone in such things, and that [to be] His service. But when disputes arise and endanger the unity of the Church,

[Rom. i. 5.]

[c] See Sam. Petit., Var. Lectt., c. iii.; ap. Crit. Sacr., tom. ix. pp. 2541—2543.

unless it determine, that those, which teach not or obey not what is taught, according to that which she is informed to come from God (as I said), be not suffered in the society of the Church; he, that takes away this power, takes away the society which stands upon it. And the decree of it shall oblige all, till it command to profess which He forbids to profess, or forbid to profess what He commands to profess, command to do what He forbids, forbid to do what He commands. Unless particular persons stand bound to censure all within these bounds, though in their judgment the Church do ill in commanding or forbidding, unity which is the sovereign law of the Church cannot be preserved. And standing so bound, no man's faith is engaged by any doctrine of man, but his charity by the unity of the Church, when he cleaves to it though he conceives it resolved amiss.

§ 29. A thing necessary, when congregations are sovereign: unless you believe that extemporary acts of the most part are more the acts of God, than laws by mature advice of persons competent to guide the whole or part of the Church, to which they give laws; or, if they go not by number, unless you think particular Christians can be confirmed by reason of the congregation, what is Divine truth in all things questionable; or that to be swayed by number and authority there, is not as much superstition and will-worship, as of the whole Church. [Congregational authority as much will-worship as that of the Church.]

§ 30. This is the power of the Church in determining [things] questionable in the profession of particular Christians. But as it is a society standing for the public service of God, all circumstances questionable in it, wherein Divine law prevents not, are subject to it. [Church-authority over the circumstances of Divine service.]

§ 31. In the first place, the determining of persons, times, and places. That of persons and places, by particular acts, because changing with time; of times, by general rule. We read, that the Church of Jerusalem, that is, all members [of it], assembled every day. That is no more [strict] rule than their giving all to the common stock. The Lord's Day, determined by Divine right, apostolical practice continued[d]. For the rest, the Church is ruled to make as frequent assem- [In determining, times, places, and the like.] [Acts ii. 46.]

[d] See Epil., Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 1; Just Weights and Measures, c. xvii. § 1, and references in note p there.

blies as the world will endure[e]. That she is to judge and determine. So, what are the offices of God's service, is determined to the Church, as I shew elsewhere[f]; [as] the eucharist, that is, service at consecration, and consecration of the sacrament proper to it. The order and form [remain] for it to determine: having shewed it a vain pretence to have it done *ex tempore*, because of "Quench not the Spirit[g]." Some points else I have shewed the Church confined to, in another place[h]. So, the sovereign power of the Church being that of the keys, whatsoever in the use of it is not determined by God's law, is subject to be determined by acts of the Church.

[1 Thess. v. 19.]

[And persons.] § 32. Likewise the power of making laws being proved in the Church, the manner of making them, and all questionable in it, is likewise. And choosing persons to execute the common power of the Church, the whole discipline of it, and all jurisdiction arising thereupon, as executed by it, so is determinable by act of it.

[And ceremonies.] § 33. But in particular, for a peculiar reason, the ceremonies of Divine service. Ceremonies signifying good things to come, cannot be instituted but by God, Who is able to make good the promises signified. And to use them now, were sacrilege; signifying that Christ is not come. But those ceremonies, which outwardly signify that inward reverence and devotion which holy duties are to be done with, and so actuating men's apprehensions and devotions to it, to which our nature is backward, if not thus significative [are] to no purpose. As our gestures at prayers. What scripture speaks of public prayer, sitting—(of David's I must consider[i])—but standing, or kneeling, or grovelling, as the solemnity required the degrees of reverence[k]? For what reason, but as our Lord stands up to read, sits down to preach, Luke iv. 16, 20; His apostles standing, as not such doctors as He, Acts

[Ps. i. 1, xxvi. 4, 5.]

[e] See S. Jerom as quoted in Just Weights and Measures, ibid., notes s, t.

[f] Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. vi. § 20, sq.; Epil., Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. i. § 1, 2; c. xxii. § 14, sq., c. xxiii.

[g] Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. vii. § 1—11; Epil., Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxii. § 16, 17.

[h] Epil., ibid., c. xxiii.

[i] Sitting was a common posture of the Jews in prayer (see Calmet, under Prayer): but it is scarcely probable, that the passages in the Psalms here referred to, speak of prayers at all. See Hammond on Psalm i. 1.

[k] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 3; Reformation of Ch. of Engl. &c., c. xli. § 2: and Bingham, XIII. viii. 7, XV. v. 3.

xiii. 14, 16[l]? So the ceremonies of public fasts among the Jews (Joel ii. 13, 16, 17, Jon. iii. 5, 6),—putting on sackcloth, sitting in ashes, bringing infants to move pity, tearing clothes; —do they move God, but as they move men to be humbled, and so capable of His mercy? Such is imposition of hands, in the Gospel; over children (as Jacob), upon sick, the baptized, confirmed, reconciled, ordained (married also, they say, in some Eastern Churches[m]): signifying God's protection, which all implore[n]. Such is the kiss of peace at the eucharist[o]: so often named in St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 16, 1 Cor. xvi. 20, 2 Cor. xiii. 12, 1 Thess. v. 26), and St. Peter (first Epist. v. 14); and so explained by Origen[p] (*Ad Rom. ubi supra*) and the Constitutions[q]. Such divers ceremonies of baptism[r], pointed at, Col. ii. 11, 12, iii. 9, 10, Rom. vi. 4, Eph. iv. [23, 24,] 30; manifestly pointing at the cross, which Tertullian[s] derives from the apostles in all actions of moment: and that of giving milk, pointed at 1 Pet. ii. 1, 2, explained in Barnabas' Epistle[t] and Tertullian[u]. In fine, God Himself prescribes fringes, and frontlets, and scrolls on the Israelites' posts[v]; not as figures of Christ to come, but as of the nature to put them in mind of the Law: Exod. xiii. 9, Deut. vi. 8, xi. 18, Numb. xv. 38.

[Gen. xlviii. 14: Matt. viii. 3, ix. 18, xix. 13, 15; Mark i. 41, v. 23, vii. 32, viii. 23, 25, x. 16, xvi. 18; Luke iv. 40, xiii. 13; Acts v. 12, vi. 6, viii. 17, ix. 17, xiii. 3, xiv. 23, xix. 6, 11, xxviii. 8; 1 Tim. iv. 14, v. 22; 2 Tim. i. 6; Heb. vi. 2.]

§ 34. To this rank belongs the holiness of persons, times, and places: the first comes after[x], the second not subject to sense; the third is an extrinsecal denomination[y], places being incapable of formal holiness, from the respect which men are

[Holy places.]

[l] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 18.

[m] See ibid., c. i. § 26; Epil., Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxx. § 13; Just Weights and Measures, c. xviii. § 11.

[n] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xi. § 3.

[o] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 30; Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 32—34; Just Weights and Measures, c. xviii. § 10, 11.

[p] Upon Rom. xvi. 16; quoted in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., ibid., note k.

[q] Quoted, ibid., note i.

[r] See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. ix. § 6; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 30—32; Epil., Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. iv. § 11; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxx. § 8.

[s] Quoted in Epil., Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxx. § 8, note u.

[t] "Τί οὖν τὸ γάλα καὶ μέλι; ὅτι πρῶτον τὸ παίδιον μέλιτι, εἶτα γάλακτι ζωοποιεῖται· οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ πίστει τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ζωοποιούμενοι, ζήσομεν κατακυριεύοντες τῆς γῆς." S. Barn., Epist. c. vi.; ap. Coteler. PP. Apost., tom. i. pp. 19, 20. And see Cotelerius ad locum.

[u] "Inde suscepti" (i. e. from the water of baptism) "lactis et mellis concordiam prægustamus." Tertull., De Cor. Mil., c. iii.; Op. p. 102. A. See Bingham, XII. iv. 6.

[v] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 32.

[x] See above in the tract upon Excommunication, § 41, note l.

[y] See Epil., Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. vii. § 1, xiv. § 2; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxvi. § 6.

bound to use them with, or moral qualities, such as laws and evidences have of binding. Levit. xix. 30, manifestly belongs to synagogues set up by human appointment. For they are so qualified, Psalm lxxiv. 4, 8, lxxxiii. 13 [12, Eng. Vers.], lxxiii. 17, lxxiv. 7; and so expounded in Maimoni's Constitutions[z]; so qualified in Philo, *De Leg.* [*ad Caium*[a], terming them] "*secundæ sanctitatis,*" and [lib.] iii. *De Vita Mosis*[b], "holy places." [The] Constitutions determine what things to be forborne in them, lest they [become] subject to vulgar use; lightness of head, secular business, * *[c]. And for negative holiness; what reason why this to be forborne but because another to be done? Wherefore Jews understand this better than Reformed divines. They question, why the street is not holy because they keep their solemn fasts in it, synagogues not sufficing the assembly, whence praying in the streets[d]. And the answer is, because accidentally, and not destined to it, appointment causing holiness. Scourging in[e] * * * *

[Matt. vi. 2, 5.]

[z] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 52.

[a] Quoted, ibid., note m; speaking of "προσευχῶν τιμῆς ἐλάττονος ἠξιωμένων."

[b] The words, "Εἰς ἱεροὺς ἀφικνούμενοι τόπους, οἳ καλοῦνται συναγωγαί," are in the tract of Philo's entitled Liber Quisquis Virtuti Studet, Op. tom. i. p. 458. See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. iii. § 14. In the Vita Mosis, lib. iii. (ibid. p. 168), he says only,—"Τὰ γὰρ κατὰ πόλεις προσευκτήρια, τί ἕτερόν ἐστιν, ἢ διδασκαλεῖα φρονήσεως καὶ ἀνδρίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης, εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁσιότητος, καὶ συμπάσης ἀρετῆς, ᾗ κατανοεῖται καὶ κατορθοῦται τά τε ἀνθρώπεια καὶ θεῖα;"

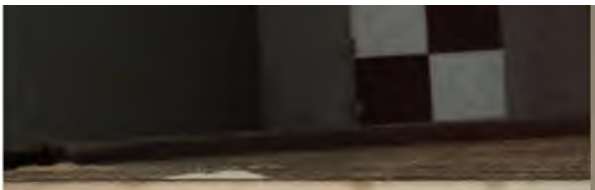
[c] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 57; and the Mishna, Tract. de Benedictionibus, P. i. p. 17. ed. Surenhus., and Maimonides (Hilk. Tephillah, or De Precibus et Benedict. Sacerdotum, viz. Bk. ii. sect. ii. of his Manus Fortis, c. xi. § 6) there quoted: where "levitas capitis" is expounded to include "lusum et jocum et inertem confabulationem." The word at the close of the sentence in the text is illegible.

[d] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 56.

[e] See ibid., § 53.—The MS. is broken off here in the middle of a sentence, written on the last leaf of the book which contains it. A reference is added at the end to an earlier part of the same 4to. book for the remainder of the tract; but it has either been destroyed, or was never written.

THE RIGHT OF THE CHRISTIAN STATE IN CHURCH-MATTERS,

ACCORDING TO THE SCRIPTURES.



THE RIGHT OF THE CHRISTIAN STATE IN CHURCH-MATTERS,

ACCORDING TO THE SCRIPTURES[a].

[Scrip narrat acts of Churc power matte fact, n precep be obe

THOSE things, that are in the Scriptures, of Church-power, are most or all related as matter of fact, not as precept of right; as historical truth, not as commands always binding the Church; or, at the most, binding the Churches to which they are given, at the time when they were given, not all the Church of all ages: especially, seeing many things are commanded in the writings of the apostles, as precepts of Divine right, which we know are now nowhere either in use or in force[b].

[As th stituti presby and d cons.]

§ 2. Not to go far for our purpose, the first mention of presbyters for the government of any Church is in that of Jerusalem, Acts xi. 29 [, 30]: whereby we learn, that they were in that Church, not that they were commanded in all. Afterwards Paul and Barnabas ordained them in the Churches they founded (Acts xiv. 23); [but] commanded them not to be ordained in all. So of deacons we find related, Acts vi., how

[a] The MS. of this tract is in the same volume with those of the three preceding it; but it seems from its position in the volume to have been written earlier, although still subsequent to the notes and extracts for which the volume was originally intended. At the end of it, and forming part of the tract itself, is the disquisition respecting the meaning of the prophecies about Antichrist, which forms the end of the Review of the Rt. of the Ch. in the Chr. State (publ. in 1649), re-written in part, but in general almost identical even in words with the published text. Possibly Thorndike intended the tract as the complement of that on the Right of the Church; and added this passage to it on account of his strong feeling respecting the importance of its subject, instead of leaving it appended (merely for lack of a better place) to the undigested series of remarks which constitute the Review of the other tract. That the tract here printed was written during the Usurpation, is obvious from expressions used in it: but there is nothing to determine its exact date, beyond the probability resulting from what is here said, and from the facts noticed in note a to § 1. of the tract upon Tithes, that it was written about 1659 or 1660.

[b] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 67, c. iv. § 13, sq.; Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. xxiv., xxv.

they came to be made at Jerusalem; but that thereby they are commanded in all Churches, or with what office, is not to be had from the Scripture. When Timothy and Titus are instructed how the priests and deacons ought to be qualified which they ordain at Ephesus and in Crete, we have from thence a presumption, that the like was to be done in other Churches; but "if any man would be contentious" in it, how should he be convinced by the mere words of Scripture?

[1 Cor. xi. 16.]

[And the power of the keys, and baptism.]

§ 3. Do we not see the power of the keys, given by our Lord to His apostles and to the Church both (Matt. xvi. 19, xviii. 17, John xx. 21, 22), questioned by the Socinians[c], as if it had been intended to them alone, and so to continue no more but to die with them? Nay, do we not see the express precept of our Lord to His apostles, of baptizing all disciples of all nations (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, Mark xvi. 15, 16), confined by them to the time of the apostles to whom it is given; as if it never had been intended, that those which were born of Christian parents should be made Christians by baptism, but only those that first came to the profession of the Gospel[d]? As if there were any reason from the Scripture to baptize them that should be converted after the apostles, the precept being once interpreted [as] given [only] to the apostles: so that there was as much usurpation in baptizing any after the apostles, as now in baptizing the infants of Christians, which these sectaries would avoid.

[Dell's doctrine of baptisms.]

§ 4. Nay, to shew how this accursed time is able to outshoot the greatest heretic in his own bow, do we not see a new sect, or opinion pretending to make one, tell us, that the world is deceived in baptizing Christians with water into our Lord Christ's baptism, which was proper to the baptism of John alone, and never intended to be used in making Christians, the baptism of Christ being with the Holy Ghost and fire alone, as John's with water alone[e]. And if you think to have him, because the apostles baptized with water: he will not [stick to] answer you, that was from John, not from Christ, as the ceremonies of the Law for a time, John being neare[r]

[Matt. iii. 11, Mark i. 8, Luke iii. 16.]

[Acts viii. 36, 38, x. 47.]

[c] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 67, note e.

[d] See ibid., § 67, note d; Epil., Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. i. § 7, note r: and elsewhere.

[e] For Dell's heresy, maintained also by Sir H. Vane (not to add the Quakers), see references above in the tract upon Excommunication, § 19, note t.

the Gospel than Moses; and that those are the two baptisms the apostle means, Heb. vi. 2, when he speaks in the plural number of "the doctrine of baptisms."

[Divers practices of the apostles' times not now observed.]

§ 5. And have they not a pretence for this out of Scripture alone, if they produce divers precepts of the apostles, which are not now in force, because it appears the reason of them is ceased? As * * * * * And the apostle James, v. 14, 15; doth he not command, saying, ["Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord," &c.]? Yet is this laid aside in all Reformed Churches, upon presumption of common sense, that the reason is no more in force; being ordained, as you see, to restore health, by the grace of miracles no more extant. And, in a word, [in] whatsoever the practice of the present differs from the Church of the apostles' times, expressed in [the] Scriptures, there, though we have the true meaning of the Scripture, we must measure the obligation by the practice of the Church. And let whosoever [will,] compare the practice of his Church with that of the apostles in Scripture; by these and infinite more particulars it shall appear, what difference there is [allowed] to him without blame.

[Scripture sufficient in itself but not to all capacities.]

§ 6. I dispute not this, as if there were not means to convince such accursed opinions by the Scripture itself and the letter of it and text; for seldom it falls out, that there is not effectual arguments to be had from the very words, and native sense, and text and consequence and reason of the discourse, to discover the violence that is offered to it, when it is racked and tormented to prove such wild imaginations: but because these reasons are many times such as ordinary capacities cannot discern, who by that means without any fault of their own might fall into the horrible sin of schism. But if they look upon the practice of the Church, and the right which it stands possessed of for the present, and enquire what it hath been; it will be easy for common reason, not to dissolve all snares of reasons that tend to such end, but not to proceed upon them to have part in the divisions of the Church.

[Ceremonies at the first

§ 7. One instance must be produced here out of the Old Testament, because the practice of it is evidenced out of the

Passover not observed by our Lord or by the Jews.]

New. For it is every whit as manifest, that the law of Moses is God's law and bound the Jews, as that the ordinances of the apostles are God's law to bind the Church. Of the passover then this is commanded, Exod. xii. 11: "Thus you shall eat it; your loins girt, your shoes on your feet, your staves in your hands; and you shall eat it in haste: it is a passover to the Lord." Now let us see, how our Lord eat the passover before His suffering; and we shall easily find, if the Gospels be true, that He eat it sitting at table, where none of these ceremonies could be used: Matt. xxvi. 20, Mark xiv. 18, Luke xxii. 14. What shall we say then? That our Lord Christ observed not the Law, to which He always professes, and the apostle for Him, that He was subject in all things?—"For when the fulness of time was come," &c. Gal. iv. 4.—Or that He used the fulness of His power, to dispense with Himself and His apostles in this particular, without giving any signification to His Church of any such reason to answer for an act contrary to His profession by the Scripture? No. He that finds in Maimoni[f], that there were four things commanded in keeping the passover, proper to that which was kept in Egypt, not intended [for] their generations, whereof this was one; he that reads in Abenezra[g] upon that place, that this was an ordinance proper to the first passover, not intended to be observed afterwards: doubtless he will find it more reasonable, and common sense command to believe rather, that our Lord kept the passover as they did, and was satisfied by their practice that so it was intended; or, if He were otherwise satisfied, intended we should so be satisfied of the reason why He did it[h].

[Matt. iii. 15, v. 17.]

§ 8. As for the objection propounded in the beginning[i], by which all that was done and practised in the next ages to the apostles (yea, during their own time, if men will speak

[f] "Quod autem in Ægypto præscriptum erat, ut usque a decimo die primi mensis pararetur victima paschalis, ut ejus sanguis superliminari geminisque postibus exterioris ostii domus induceretur hyssopi fasciculo, *ut eadem comederetur festinanter*, hæc omnia semel in illo sacro paschali Ægyptio servata sunt; sed nunquam usitata fuere postmodum." Moses Maim., De Sacrif. Pasch. in fin. (being lib. ix. tract. 1, of the Manus Fortis), p. 51 of De Veil's transl. 4to. Lond. 1683.

[g] In Exod. xii. 11. See Lightfoot, Temple Service, c. xii. (Works vol. i. pp. 951, 952); and Poli Syn. ad loc.

[h] See Epil., Bk. 1. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxi. § 15, c. xx v. § 10.

[i] The reference is apparently to one of his larger works, into a revised edition of which this tract was to be incorporated. See above in the second tract, on Excommunication, § 41, note l. The topic occurs at length both in the Rt. of Ch. in Chr. State and in the Epilogue: see the next note.

out what the consequence of their own reasons enforces, and so consequently those things which are contained in the Scriptures themselves), are called into suspicion to be anti-christian, because "the mystery of iniquity was then at work[k]:" this is not the place to dispute a point of that consequence; unless I would say more to it than my design will oblige me to say of the business in hand. And therefore I l y the dispute itself down, and leave it as I find it. But to clear my own reasons, I will use no other principles than those which have hitherto been debated. [2 Thess. ii. 7.]

§ 9. But first I will advise all, that go about to find who is antichrist, to enquire also, not by what marks they know him to be antichrist, but for what he is antichrist. For I suppose, that whom the Scriptures discover to be antichrist, him they discover withal, why or for what cause he is antichrist, and wherein his being antichrist consists. A thing of so great consequence, that perhaps it were better never to enquire who is antichrist, than by neglecting the reason for which he is antichrist, not to discern Christianity from anti-christianism. [Best to enquire, not who is antichrist, but for what he is so.]

§ 10. A thing which I shall easily shew all good Christians that it is easily done, by the lamentable example of the Socinians[l]; men, that all the world knows are no babies in examining the Scriptures. But putting out into that main without ballast, that is, searching the meaning of them without giving heed to the sense and practice of the Church, and finding in the apostle, that "the mystery of iniquity was already on work, only till that which was yet in the way, were removed out of the way;" they conclude that, which the apostle says was "in the way for the present," to be the apostles which were yet alive; and that, when they were gone out of the world, the "mystery of iniquity," that is, the iniquity which was yet secretly on work, St. Paul says, should be openly "revealed[m];" and that this came to pass at [the] time which Hegesippus speaks of in Eusebius[n], when the Church, [Lamentable error of the Socinians respecting antichrist.] [2 Thess. ii. 7.] [2 Thess. ii. 8.]

[k] See the end of the present tract; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 54: Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxiii. § 2, sq.

[l] See Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxiii. § 2, note g, § 26, note z.

[m] See Volkel., De Vera Relig., lib. iii. c. xl. p. 159.

[n] Quoted in Epil. Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxiii. § 28, and Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xii. § 6, note e; and see Volkel. as in last note.

that had "continued a maid" during the apostles' time, was "deflowered," and the name of it defiled, by the heresies that sprung up under the name of it. But it is easy for any man, that considers the passage, to shew these men, and all others that use it, how undue a sense they impose upon Hegesippus. For it is manifest, that he speaks of the rising of the heresy of the Gnostics, and that the Church was "deflowered and adulterated" by it; in that such a sect took upon it the title of Christianity, though as far from the thing as from the communion of the Church. And, therefore, he saith not, that antichristianism was then springing in the Church, that says the Gnostics were springing out of it.

hat ich was m the ginning not be ichris- anism.]

§ 11. So it will concern all, to enquire first wherein the mystery of antichrist consists, before he pronounce who is antichrist. [For we] may as well, with the Socinians, take the Three Persons of one Godhead, the incarnation and satisfaction of Christ, to be antichristianism, as, with the schismatics of this Church, the primitive government of the Church and form of service[o]. But if, laying aside the dispute of antichrist, he please to go along with me; he shall easily perceive, that antichristianism can no ways consist in those things which have been always and everywhere received since there was any such thing as Christianity: and therefore that, in that extent or subject of ecclesiastical power, which my purpose is to declare, purposing to declare it to be that which always was from the beginning of Christianity, there can be no more antichristianism, than in the Trinity, in the incarnation and satisfaction of Christ; which those, that oppose, do confess to have been received in the Church ever since the apostles.

he arisee's t on ndays l Thurs- rs, nar- ed, not ected, in ripture.]

§ 12. For another instance in the Synagogue. The Pharisee saith, Luke xviii. 12, "I fast twice a week." Now it is evident, that the Jews always used to assemble on Mondays and Thursdays, to hear the Law read in the synagogue, and the more devout of them to fast on those days[p]. He, that knows this, must needs rest assured, that those are the days on which the Pharisee fasted, according to the more exact

[o] See Epil. as in last note, and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 54.

[p] See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 19, 30; and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 14.

[some] disagreement between the signification and use: because, where several nations are under one sovereign's power (as not only in this kingdom the case is, but also in the crown of France, the German empire, the state of Venice), the Church cannot properly be called, when several nations are ruled by the same laws, and yet in this case also is called, national; being protected by the same sovereign power, which gives force temporal to the ecclesiastical laws, by which it is governed.

[Tertullian and Origen.]

§ 18. But setting this equivocation aside, which can do no harm, if it be not drawn into consequence: so far we are from finding any mention of national Churches in the New Testament, that Tertullian seems to think, that the Roman emperors could not be Christians; for so are his words—"*Si esse possent et Cæsares Christiani*[t]." And Origen[u], expounding that of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 21)—"I will provoke them to jealousy by a nation that is no nation" (so he reads it)—of the Christians subsisting here and there in several nations whereof none had generally received Christianity, seemeth to conceive, that God had appointed, that Christianity should be always "a nation that is no nation," in this regard.

[No interest of secular powers in Church-matters before Constantine.]

§ 19. And how then shall we find a title of Divine right for any interesse of secular powers in Church-matters, whereof neither the New Testament says any thing, nor the Church understood any thing, till Constantine taking the Church into his protection took upon [him] to use that power in swaying [the] Church for matters, which (say they) the interesse of the state might require.

[Difference between the Law and the Gospel.]

§ 20. For if it be said, that the kings of Judah did use the like power afore, their answer is ready;—that those things, which concern the ancient people of God in the Old Testament, do not take place under the Gospel to oblige the Church. And truly, to say something more than they have said, as far as I know, there seems to be a great reason of difference. For the precepts of the Law being given to the body of the people, which had entered into covenant with God to live according to them, and the sovereign power of that people being afterwards vested in their kings, without

[t] Quoted in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 12, note e.

[u] Quoted ibid., notes f, g.

which power it is not imaginable that these precepts should ever be put in execution effectually, it followeth of necessity, that their kings were tied by those precepts to see them put in practice, and therefore had power to see them done. Whereas under the Gospel the case is far otherwise: because the commission of Christ is to "make disciples and baptize all nations;" and in virtue and consequence hereof, the society of the Church is one of all nations: and therefore the sovereign power of no nation can have right to dispose of those things, which concern other nations in as high [degree] as themselves; that is, of those things, which come to be limited or determined in point of Christianity. A difficulty considerable to any understanding: but not of that weight, as to move any sober man to condemn all Christian princes and sovereign powers ever since the time of Constantine; who, as they have always found themselves bound to protect the Church after his example, so have always used some interesse more or less in disposing of ecclesiastical matters.

[Matt. xxviii. 19.]

§ 21. Which power though it may be ill used (as all power that men are trusted with may be, and yet ceaseth not to bind inferiors; for otherwise no man were capable of any right by virtue of his quality and condition in any human or civil society, but by virtue of his natural and habitual endowments of mind, so far as he is in the state of grace); and though it may be extended beyond the just bounds; yet, for the whole kind of it, is not to be counted an usurpation by any man, that would be counted fit to live in any Christian kingdom or commonwealth.

[Abuse of the power no argument against the power itself.]

§ 22. The way to satisfy this difficulty I conceive will be, to enquire the true ground of this right according to the Scriptures; which, as it will serve for the present to discern what are the proper rights of the Church, coming from a peculiar fountain of the constitution of it, so will be serviceable afterwards to determine the bounds of it; being a maxim received in nature, that no conduit can be mounted higher than the fountain-head from whence it proceeds.

[The ground of the right will determine its bounds.]

§ 23. I will begin then at the Old Testament, to satisfy the difficulty, and dig deep to shew the foundation and ground of this right; which must be by examining the difference between the Law [and the Gospel], so far as may

[To be sought in the difference between the Law and

the Gospel.] concern my present purpose. For if I should launch into the main of it, it would prove a work by itself larger than that which I design; being indeed the knot, which ties all controversies that are disputed upon occasion of the meaning of the Scriptures not agreed, the disagreement falling out most an end between the Old and New Testament, as in this case.

[And therefore between the Synagogue and the Church.] § 24. For the difference between the Law and the Gospel causeth necessarily a vast difference between the Church of the Jews and of the Gentiles, or rather, if we will speak properly, between the Synagogue and the Church. For though there is little or no difference between the words of *συναγωγὴ* and *ἐκκλησία*, as for the original signification of them, both of them being indifferently attributed to the body of the people of Israel in the Greek of the Old Testament[x]; yet as for the use of them, the name of Church being once appropriated to signify the congregation of Christians, to name the Church of the Jews is as much as to make Jews and Christians all one: which to distinguish, the fathers, that were new to the change, and understood the difference between both people, conversing with both, and by consequence between the Law and the Gospel, have always, when they would speak properly, without circumlocution or addition, distinguished that by the proper term of the Synagogue. And as those, that will needs call the Sunday the Sabbath, labour by enforcing the use of their language to impose upon the world an opinion, which they know to be contrary to the Scriptures; as if the Lord's Day were to be kept upon the same ground, and consequently in the same manner, as the Jews' Sabbath[y]: so they, that will needs enforce us to call the Synagogue the Church of the Jews, let them take heed, lest, by intercommuning in the names, they seek to impose upon the world their own mistakes in not distinguishing what the Scriptures distinguish.

[Church and commonwealth all one among the Jews.] § 25. Now the ground of the difference is this:—that by virtue of the Law, being given as it was, the Church and commonwealth of the Jews (if I may have leave, for want of

[x] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xi. § 7; Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. vi. § 12, c. xiv. § 13—18.

[y] See Epil., Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 1, sq.; Just Weights and Measures, c. xvii. § 1.

usual words, to call that the Church amongst them, which should have answered the Church of Christian states, were it not for this difference) is all one; or, rather, there was no society, body, or corporation of a Church distinct from that of the commonwealth[z]. As in all Christian states it must necessarily come to pass, because of the different original and constitution of both hitherto demonstrated: whereby the visible Church of Christ is one visible society, body, or corporation of all Christians, subsisting by the command of God, declared by the Gospel of Christ, for the public service of God in which all Christians may communicate; but commonwealths are several, not only human and visible, but also civil, societies, bodies, or corporations, subsisting by the will of God and His providence, whereby the sovereign power of several nations and peoples is vested upon several persons by virtue of such human acts as are agreeable to the laws of God, of nature, and nations, for the defence of one another and enjoying of civil happiness in human commerce and intercourse. And to signify such a constitution as this, wherein there is no society of a Church distinct from the body of the commonwealth, the people of the Jews is properly called the Synagogue in opposition to the Church so constituted as I have said.

§ 26. That this was the condition of the people, is easily demonstrable to all, that will consider the covenant of the Law, and the terms of it. For it is manifest, that God entered into covenants with that people: whereby they obliged themselves, on their part, to serve God and to live among themselves, according to the precepts which God had given them or should give them (for we see it is renewed and repeated at the end of Deuteronomy, as well as treated in Exodus); and He, on His part, stands obliged to maintain them, so doing, in possession of the promised land of the seven nations, and of a happy condition in it. For by virtue of this act, as well the laws of the public service of God, as of civil communion among themselves, become temporal or secular laws of that people, not binding any other but themselves (as the Scripture expressly concerning the law of the

[Their laws of Divine service accordingly, as well as those of civil government, enforced by the state.]

[Exod. xxiii. 22—33; Levit. xxvi.; Deut. xi. 8—32, xxviii.]

[Exod. xxxi. 13,

[z] See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. viii.; Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. ii. § 10—13; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 10, 11, c. v. § 9.

This order, we have great cause to think, was either in force when our Lord preached, or at the least was pressed by some party that desired it might prevail and come in practice, to strengthen the decrees of those which prevailed in power, which were for the most part the Pharisees. For we are told expressly by their doctors, that the occasion of this decree was the differences, that then were on foot, between the scholars of Hillel and Shammai; whereof there is so much speech among the Talmudists[b]. So that it should seem, that, for fear of a breach within the party of the Pharisees, this order was either enacted, or at the least promoted by them; and so related by the Talmudists, their successors, as if it had been really in force. This is then the difference, which our Lord insinuateth between the Law and His Gospel. For, desiring to shew, how never a tittle of it should fall to the ground, but all be fulfilled under the Gospel, He will not have us to think, that it is to stand by outward force, as the Law did, but expresseth the very terms of this order; which was not to take hold but of him, that should both teach others such or such a precept in this manner, which was to them that had determined the contrary the breaking of it, and teach others to do likewise. In opposition whereunto, "he, that shall break one of the least of these precepts, and teach men so," saith our Lord, what shall be done to him? shall he be put to death according to this rule of the Pharisees? No, saith He, "he shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven; but he that teacheth and doeth, shall be counted great." And therefore the question is not impertinent, which Origen makes upon Leviticus[c],—why the Church is not endowed with power of life and death, as the Synagogue was:—for it leads us by the hand to consider this difference between the Law and the Gospel, the Church and the Synagogue, and cannot be resolved without it.

§ 29. He, that will duly weigh the consequence of what hath been said, shall find, that a twofold power is established by the Law among that people. The first is the sovereign power over them, who by entering into the covenant of the Law with God were become a free people, and lords of themselves, [A twofold power established by the Law; 1. the sovereign power over the Jews.]

[b] See ibid.; and Selden, Ux. Ebr., lib. iii. c. 20; Op. tom. ii. pp. 769, sq.

[c] Quoted in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 29, note r.

and warranted so to continue as long as they observed the Law. For if we grant, that no people can be governed without a sovereign power, whether in one, in some, or in the body of the people, according to the several forms of several commonwealths, it will not be difficult to find the like in this; saving that they were guided from time to time, far more than other men were, by express orders from God, or by persons expressly appointed them by God: in which regard the government is called by Josephus[d] *θεαρχία*, to difference [it] from those forms of government of which other nations had knowledge.

[In whose hands it was deposited.]

§ 30. Thus was Moses for his time "king in Jesurun;" as the Scripture calls him, Deut. xxxiii. 5. After him Joshua succeeded into the same power; Jos. i. 17, Numb. xxvii. 17, sq. When he was dead, sometimes God raised them up judges, till Samuel the prophet: which for their term of life seem to have had the same power; for when the Book of Judges saith of them, that such or such a judge died and was buried, and after him such or such a one judged Israel, it is manifest, that a judge once appointed held his power for term of life. And that their power during the time was sovereign, is gathered from the saying so often repeated in the last chapters of that book, "At that time there was no king in Israel, every man did that which was good in his own eyes;" necessarily to be understood concerning the intervals of the judges. For we know, that Clemens[e] and Eusebius[f], and all that follow them, after Josephus[g], do reckon, that after Joshua's death they were governed by the elders of the people. And so indeed we are to reckon, that, when any judge died, the power fell to the elders of the people; who, because their authority was not strong enough to make themselves to be obeyed of

[Judg. xvii. 6, xviii. 1, 7, xix. 1, xxi. 25.]

[d] He calls it, with an apology for the word, "*Θεοκρατία*," Cont. Apion., lib. ii. § 16 (Op. tom ii. p. 1376); and describes it accordingly, Antiq. Jud., lib. iv. c. 8. § 17. tom. i. p. 164. Thorndike quotes him correctly, De Rat. Fin. Controv., c. ix. p. 159.

[e] Quoted in Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xiv. § 10, note u.

[f] Eusebius in his Chronicon is quoted in the Epilogue also (as in last note) to the same effect as in the text, but by a slip of memory: as he is the chronologer who has *omitted* the government of the elders after Joshua. See Scaliger's Animadv. on Eusebius' Chronicon (lib. prior), p. 35, on the subject of "*τὰ πρεσβυτέρων ἔτη*."

[g] Josephus agrees with *Eusebius* on the subject, so far as to make mention of elders as governing Israel with Joshua but not after him: see Antiq. Jud., lib. v. c. i. § 22, and c. ii. § 1. tom. i. pp. 187, 193. He terms the latter period indeed an "anarchy," lib. vi. c. 5. § 4. ibid., p. 236. See however Hales' Chronology, vol. ii. p. 286.

the tribes, therefore "every man did that which was right in his own eyes." The judges therefore had regal power after Moses and Joshua. And yet it is evident by an express law of Deut. xvii. 14, that God thereby gives that people a power to set a king over themselves, when they were come into possession of the promised land, upon the terms there expressed, that is, "as all the nations round about:" which seems to imply the same power, which the eastern nations acknowledged to their kings, and the same right descending to the posterity of him whom they should set over themselves, provided that the nomination be reserved to God (as follows immediately in the next words), and of their own nation. Neither [Deut. xvii. 15.] is it any thing strange, that the people, having this power, are nevertheless so sharply reprehended for demanding a king in the days of Samuel; 1 Sam. viii. 6, 7. For though they had a power reserved them to demand a king, yet, God having presently given them, instead of a king, such a judge as Samuel (whom God had declared His vicegerent by many wonderful things done by him for that people), and having never destituted those whom He had so advanced in delivering them, for them to take discontent because his sons walked not in his steps, and distrust that he should not be fit or able to deliver them out from the Ammonites, was to do no less than God charges them there to do, when He saith to Samuel, "They have not refused thee, but Me." And that this was the very case at that time, will appear by the Scripture; 1 Sam. viii. 3, and again, 1 Sam. x. 18, 19: "I brought Israel out of Egypt, and from the hands of all kingdoms that oppressed them; and you have this day refused the Lord, That delivereth you from all your evils and distresses, and said, Nay, but set a king over us." And again, 1 Sam. xii. 12: "And ye saw that Nahas king of the sons of Ammon came against you, and ye said to me, Nay, but set a king over us: whereas the Lord your God was your king."

§ 31. The other power, which I spoke of, is also established by the Law of Moses, and that far more precisely than this: inasmuch as the sovereign power over them as a free people might be intercepted by the curses threatened in the Law whensoever they should transgress it, of becoming subjects to strangers; which notwithstanding, as they must needs hold themselves tied to the Law, in hope of returning [2. The jurisdiction of the consistory.]

thy gates, which the Lord thy God gives thee, according to thy tribes." So saith Josephus[k], and so say the Talmudists[l]: that by virtue of this law they were bound to erect consistories of judges, with their ministers attending on them, according to their cities, which had walls and gates, intimated here when he saith, "in all thy gates." And as the most difficult cases were at the first reserved to Moses, so for posterity it is further provided by the law that follows, Deut. xvii. 8[—10]:— "When a cause shall be too hard for thee to judge, between blood and blood, between right and right, between plague and plague, in matters of debate within thy gates, then shalt thou arise and go up to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose; and come to the priests and Levites, and to the judge that shall be in those days, and shalt enquire; and they shall declare unto thee the point of right: and thou shalt do according to the word, that they shall declare unto thee from that place which the Lord shall choose; and thou shalt take care to do according to all that they shall teach thee." Where it is manifest, that a sovereign court is appointed to judge the last resort of such causes, as should come by appeal, not of parties but of the courts themselves, before the Lord in the court, which hereby is appointed to reside with the ark.

[The consistory of elders a standing court to judge with Moses in difficult cases.]

§ 34. Now as Moses afore by God's appointment upon his petition had chosen to himself seventy persons of the elders of Israel, to assist him in that part of his office, which formerly he had reserved to himself, of governing the people towards God (Numb. xi. 11, 14, sq.); so seemeth it a thing most evident, as well by the agreement and consent of these, as also by the opinion of their doctors[m], the ablest interpreters of the law given their fathers, and chiefly by the practice of the nation in all ages, that by this law of Deut. xvii. 8, sq., the said consistory of elders, chosen at first for Moses his counsel, are established a standing court, to judge with Moses the difficult cases that should resort to God in His sanctuary from all their cities.

[k] Antiq. Jud., lib. iv. c. 8. § 14; Op. tom. i. p. 163: De Bell. Jud., lib. ii. c. 20. § 5; ibid., tom. ii. p. 1106.

[l] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 11; Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xv. § 2, sq.; Grot. ad Matth. v. 21; Selden, De Synedr. Vett. Ebræor., lib. ii. cc. 4, 6 (Op. tom. i. pp. 1229, 1325, sq.); and Winer, Biblisch. Realwörterbuch, sub voce Synedrium.

[m] See references in the last note.

the same and preface to it tells us, that by elders we are to understand the judges that governed Israel after Joshua; and accordingly makes twelve ages of those, that received this interpretation of the Law before the prophets, every judge in his age; which he saith also delivered the same after their time to the prophets.

[But not the kings.]

§ 38. As for the kings, it must needs have been otherwise, so soon as Saul was ordained; because we see by the Scripture, that Samuel, being put from the sovereign power then vested in the king, continued nevertheless to judge the people unto the time of his death: 1 Sam. vii. 15. And when the state of a king was erected among them, and a power over the militia of that people settled upon him; we must needs imagine, that there must be also a court, and by consequence a demesne of the crown to support the state of it, tributes to maintain the war, and rewards for those of the soldiery; which are the particulars, which Samuel intimateth to the people, when he expresseth the burden they must expect from the king, in ploughing his grounds, and furnishing servants and confectioners for his court, men of service to maintain the soldiery, and tithes of their fruits to pay them with: 1 Sam. viii. 11, sq.

[The interpretation of the Law belonged to the great consistory.]

§ 39. For there is no question to be made, that the interpretation of the law belonged in the chief place to the great consistory and the heads of it. And that is the first point of my answer to the difficulty proposed:—that the interpretation of the Law, and the judging of such causes as should arise upon it, did by God's law and by Divine right belong to the judges of the great consistory, and under them to the judges of several cities.

[The ground of this power.]

§ 40. The ground of this is the letter of that law, Deut. xvii. 8, 10, 11: "When a cause shall be too hard for thee to judge, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, between plague and plague, in matter of suit within thy gates:" and again, "And thou shalt do according to that which they shall teach thee from the place which the Lord shall choose, and shalt take heed to do according to all that they shall teach thee; according to the doctrine which they shall teach thee, and according to the judgment which they shall pronounce thee, shalt thou do; thou shalt not decline from that,

the great consistory, there might be nevertheless and was indeed another sort of jurisdiction distinct from this, not established by the Law, otherwise than the sovereign power of their kings can be said to be established by it. There might be, because there must needs be distinct matter for it. For when the state * * * * *[t]. Whatsoever then concerned the soldiery, the demesne of the crown, the officers and servants of the court, and the tributes by which they were maintained, and generally whatsoever became not questionable upon the Law of Moses, as certainly the greatest part of public business in all civil societies is not determinable by it, may be the subject of a jurisdiction distinct from that which the Law of Moses erecteth.

[exercised by the kings, not established by the Law, unless indirectly.]

§ 42. And that there was indeed such a jurisdiction exercised by their kings, will appear by divers particulars of the Scripture; though the general reason and bounds of the difference be not so plainly expressed in it. Absalom took occasion to calumniate his father's government upon matter of judicature; 2 Sam. xv. 2—4. Solomon prays to God for wisdom in judging, and shews the effect of it in a case not determinable by the Law of Moses; 1 Kings iii. 9, 16, sq. The widow, whose son Eliseus restored to life, was confiscate and restored by the king, neither of both by the Law of Moses; 2 Kings viii. 3, sq. The crime of treason, which the Roman laws call *læsæ majestatis*, was punished besides death with confiscation of goods, 2 Sam. ix. 7, xii. 8; for by this title came David to be possessed of Saul's estate. And by that law Naboth suffers, 1 Kings xxi. 14, 15. Yet not by Moses' law, but by that which is expressed Jos. i. 18. The executions of Joab and Shimei and Adonijah by Solomon are of the same nature, for the Law of Moses provided not for the cases. And by this power that law of David prevailed, that those which kept the stuff in the wars, should have equal share with those that went to the battle; 1 Sam. xxx. 24, 25. R. Moses Maimoni[u], having delivered for a rule that the consis-

[Such a jurisdiction proved from instances in Scripture.]

[1 Kings ii. 25, 34, 46.]

[t] There is a short blank in the MS. here, which Thorndike has left to mark an omission; with the intention doubtless of supplying the particulars to prove the preceding assertion, if ever he published the tract.

[u] "Decretum Scripturæ est, ne quemquam interficerent aut flagellarent ex confessione sua, sed ex binorum testium testimonio; et id quod legitur de Josua, ab ipso confessione sua neci traditum fuisse Achan, atque a Davide confessione sua interfectum fuisse Ger Amalekitam; hoc tantum

right. For how should the congregation sin, but by means of some principle that had influence upon the actions of the congregation? Or how should the congregation bring a sacrifice, but in those who might stand for the congregation and represent it? Such was the consistory, after it was erected; justly tied to answer for the sins of the congregation, who was to be tied afterwards, by the law of Deut. xvii. 8, sq., to do as they should teach: but being for the present no way established, the consistory is not named, but the Synagogue. So neither is the king named in this law, because there was then no king, but they were then a free people. And always when they enjoyed freedom, whether in part or in whole, they had some head over them, though he bore not the title of king: as Moses for the present; Josue, and the judges, after him; [and] the sons of Mattathias, before Aristobulus used the title of king[a].

§ 44. It is commonly received, indeed, that these are the same that are there called gods, Exod. xxii. 28: but it is without doubt a popular mistake. The truth is that, which the Jews' doctors tell us;—that the title of gods is proper only to their judges made by imposition of hands. Their meaning is, to their judges of the great consistory in Jerusalem, and others of inferior consistories in other cities; who by the example of those first, Num. xi. 16, and of Josue afterwards, were promoted to the place by imposition of hands[a]. For if you look into the Scriptures, you shall never find it attributed to any other. "God standeth in the assembly of gods, He judgeth in the midst of the gods" (Ps. lxxxii. 1), and the rest of the same, speaketh of the elders of Israel; whereby the great consistory is signified[b], conspiring either with Saul or Absalom, to whom we read that the elders of Israel adhered against David. For our Lord, alleging the words of this Psalm, "I have said ye are gods, and all children of the Most High" (John x. 34, 35), addeth immediately, "If He

[Which is there used for judges made by imposition of hands.]

[Num. xxvii. 18, 23.]

[2 Sam. xvii. 4, 15.]

[a] Aristobulus, son of Hyrcanus the high-priest, grandson of Simon Maccabæus, son of Mattathias, assumed the title of king on the death of his father (B.C. 106, according to Hales): Josephus, Antiq. Jud., lib. xiii. c. 11. § 1; Op. tom. i. p 588.

[a] See Maimoni, De Synedr. et Pœnis, c. iv. p. 22: Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 54; Review of it, c. iv. § 16; Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. iii. § 2. 6; and Epil., Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr, c. xiv. § 1.

[b] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St, c. iv. § 54.

habit, she says, "I see a judge," such as Samuel was, and in such a habit[e]. For the name of god, אלהים, as all the Rabbis teach us, hath in it the emphasis of judgment ("signifies the property of judgment in God," say they[f]); and is therefore communicated both to angels, and to those judges, to whom God had communicated this quality of His, by advancing [them] to judge according to the laws which He gave His own people.

§ 47. And this seems to be the difference, which the Scripture makes, between the matters of God and the matters of the king (1 Chron. xxvi. 32, 2 Chron. xix. 11); these arising upon the state and power of a king set over that people, those upon the Law of God given by Moses. Some perhaps will think otherwise, because in these places the priests and Levites are employed in matters of the king as in matters of God. But though the service of the temple was peculiar to that tribe, yet were they not thereby sequestered from secular affairs; no, not from bearing arms, as you see by the examples of Moses, Phineas, Eli[g], and Samuel, generals of that people in the field. And therefore the Maccabees did not contrary to the Law in taking upon them the civil or military government of that people; nor Josephus, being a priest, in taking upon him to be governor and general in Galilee[h].

[Difference between the matters of God and the matters of the king.]

[Num. xxi. 24 xxxi. 6 1 Sam. 4, vii. [2 Ma viii.—

§ 48. Consider now, that the captains of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, which Moses chose to be judges by Jethro's advice, were notwithstanding commanders also in the wars, and so subject to Moses as he was king, and fought their battles. For by this power he appointed Josue and Phineas generals against the Amalekites and Midianites, and himself commanded in person against Sihon and Og; as

[The c tains o thousa and of lesser visions were a militar officer

[Exod xvii. 9

[e] See Epil., Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxviii. § 8.

[f] "Antiqui doctores Ebræorum discriminant a Tetragrammato, quod per Elohim significetur מדת דין (*qualitas* vel *proprietas judicii*, quidam *severitas judicii*, quod *summum jus* vocant), per יהוה vero מדת רחמים (*qualitas* vel *proprietas misericordiæ*; ἐπιεικείαν appellant." Drusius, Elohim sive De Nomine Dei אלהים: ap. Crit. Sacr., tom. viii. p. 2116.

[g] Apparently by mistake for Hophni and Phineas, Eli's sons: see 1 Sam. iv. 6. Phineas was officiating as high-priest in the room of his father, on account of Eli's great age, at the time of his going down to the camp with the ark; according to Josephus, Antiq. Jud., lib. v. c. 11, § 2; Op. tom. i. p. 221.

[h] See his Life of himself, § 12, sq.; Op. tom. ii. pp. 910, sq.

Jerusalem, it may seem, that the judging of such causes as became questionable upon the Law of Moses, being reserved to the courts of their several cities, was excepted from their charge, remaining still commanders of the soldiery under the king in the chief place. And whereas Moses was both king and prophet, that is, giver of the law and interpreter of it, and had these captains under him in both these qualities; afterwards the king, succeeding him in the power of the sword, had the princes of the tribes and under them these captains; and the consistory, succeeding him in the office of interpreting the law and judging by it, had under them the consistories of their several cities, and all their doctors: of whose office I shall say more when time serves.

[Why "the prince" is here named, and not "the king."]

§ 51. And in regard of the different estate and condition of public power of that people, the king is not here named, but נשיא, or the prince; as also in Ezekiel divers times (xlv. 16, xliv. 3): to comprehend as well the king, where there was a king (for the king also is called so, Ezek. xxxiv. 24), as all estates else, in whom the public of that people rested.

[The two powers of king and consistory subsisted to the end in several persons.]

§ 52. For he, that observeth the condition of that people well in the succession of time, shall find, that these two several powers subsisted in several persons; even at such times, when their freedom, and by consequence their sovereign power over themselves, was abated by their becoming subject to strangers. In the book of Esdras, vii. 25, 26, you have a commission of Artaxerxes, enabling him to go up to Jerusalem, and to ordain judges to "judge all the people beyond the river" (that is, all the Jews that were returned to Jerusalem, because many of them remained in the parts beyond Euphrates, for no man can imagine that Esdras should have power hereby over other nations of Syria), to wit, "all that know the statutes of thy God, and to teach them that know not;" or, "to teach them that they know not." Is not this the power of judging by the Law of Moses, whether in his own person, or by others whom he should ordain, according to the Law (Deut. xvi. 18): agreeable to his profession, Ez. vii. 6, 10; and agreeable to the general constant report of the Talmudists[1], that Esdras was head of the consistory. But

[1] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 70.

the governors of the Jews, Zorobabel for his time, and Nehemias, and those that came afore him (Neh. v. 14, 15, xii. 26, 45), must be of the other kind, and derived from their sovereigns; by which Nehemias is enabled to defend his people by force of arms against their enemies (Neh. iv. 7, sq.), [and] to make war upon one another, being a thing nothing strange for governors of provinces in the Persian empire. Under the Roman, we see plainly, that the consistory did subsist, and had power of judging causes according to the Law of Moses, by the Gospels and Acts (though much abridged by taking away from them the power of judging in life and death[m]), so often as we find mention in them of the consistory, or of the high-priests and elders and scribes of the people, being members of it; as shall appear in due place.

[John xviii. 31.]

[Under the Romans.]

§ 53. But the public power of that people, reserved unto them by the Romans their sovereigns, was then resident in the high-priests, succeeding the Maccabees, princes as well as high-priests (as Josephus[n] reporteth, and the consequence of their affairs justifieth). For when they fell from the Romans and usurped the sovereign power, it was first seized and exercised by the high-priests; from whom Josephus had his commission of general in Galilee, as you may see at large in his histories[o]: though the seditions, that arose among them, suffered them not to enjoy it long to any purpose. Whereas we may believe R. Moses Maimoni in the preface to his commentaries on the Misnaioth[p], that there was but one high-priest, head of the consistory, from Esdras to the destruction of the temple. And this is the reason why St. Paul, being reproved for reviling Ananias (Acts xxiii. 5), answers, "I knew not, brethren, that he was high-priest, for it is written, thou shalt not revile the prince of thy people;" which, as hath been shewn[q], belonged to the head of the nation, not of the consistory.

[In the captivity,

§ 54. But that body of the Jews, which remained in

[m] So the Talmudists. For the grounds on which the position is disputed, see Biscoe's Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, pp. 83—175. See below in § 67.

[n] Quoted in Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 14, note g; and see Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xiv. § 7.

[o] De Bell. Jud., lib. ii. c. 20. § 3, 4; Op. tom. ii. pp. 1105, 1106; and in Vita Sui, § 12, &c., ibid., p. 910.

[p] Transl. into Latin and prefixed to Surenhusius's edit. of the Mishna: see sign. d. 3.

[q] Above in § 51.

Babylon (which all men may understand by Josephus to have been very populous and powerful), was governed by a head[r], whom they call ראש הגלות, Josephus[s] ἀιχμαλωτάρχης, prince of the captives, that is, of the Jews in banishment; from the time of Zorobabel, who returned from Jerusalem to that command, lineally descending from him of the family of David, till many hundred years after, if we believe the Little Chronicle of the Jews[t], which in this report of their own affairs seems to speak no fables. And yet at the same time they had their consistory and the head of it, or rather consistories and heads of consistories, in several residences of Babylonia or Mesopotamia; as we may see as well by the said Little Chronicle, as by the Talmudists[u]. [and afterwards at Babylon.]

§ 55. After the destruction of the temple, it is well known, as well by their writers[x], as [by] Epiphanius[y], Origen[z], St. Hierome[a], and the emperors' laws in both Codes[b], that there was a head of the nation resident at Tiberias in good power over all the Jews of Syria and Cilicia, till Constantine's time, and perhaps beyond; whom the Christians call the patriarch, but the Jews נשיא: descending also from the lineage of David, by that Hillel, whom the foresaid Little Chronicle[c], and the rest of the Talmudists too, reports to have come from Babylon to Jerusalem in the greater Herod's days; and that he and his posterity were from thenceforth always heads of the consistory, so long as any subsisted in Palestine; and some think, [that he] is mentioned in Josephus[d]. So that, under these, both powers, of heads of the nation and of the consistory, were united in one and the same person; as I said afore, that it seems to have been under the judges[e]. [They were in the same person after the destruction of the temple.]

[r] See Review of Rt. of Church in Chr. St., c. ii. § 14.

[s] Quoted ibid.

[t] Quoted ibid.

[u] See ibid.; and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 70.

[x] See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. iii. § 16; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 13: and Petavius ad Epiphan. Hær. xxx. p. 55; and Gothofred. ad Cod. Theodos., tom. vi. p. 213.

[y] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., ibid.

[z] Origen, Epist. ad Africanum, § 14 (Op. tom. i. p. 28. A), speaks of "ὁ ἐθνάρχης" of the Jews under the Romans, and of the power conceded to him by them; whom the Jews, he says (according to Rufinus' translation), call "Patriarcha" (De Princip. lib. iv. c. 3, ibid., p. 159).

[a] Comment. in Esai. c. iii.; Op. tom. iii. p. 36.

[b] See references in note x.

[c] See ibid.

[d] The Pharisee and doctor Pollio, mentioned by Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. xv. c. 1. § 1 (Op. tom. i. p. 661), and c. 13. § 4 (ibid., p. 698), has been thought to be identical with Hillel: see Selden, Ux. Ebr., lib. iii. c. 20 (Op. tom. ii. pp. 769, 770).

[e] Above in § 37.

starved by the priests, converting through their greatness the greatest part of the fruits to their own benefit. But as to the rest of that people, they were by the Law to receive, visit, and allow their sacrifices and offerings; and therefore tied by the Law not to drink wine during the time of their service, that they might be always sober to teach them aright of the matter of their oblations, and the fitness of the persons: Levit. x. 9, sq. And the prophet, complaining of the people for offering that which the Law allowed not (Mal. i. 6, ii. 1), lays much the greatest blame on the priests; because they by the Law were angels, that is, interpreters or ambassadors between God and the people. Further, they were by the Law to visit leprosies, and to pronounce the sentence between clean and unclean: Levit. xiii., Deut. xxiv. 8. And being endowed with divers fruits and obventions, they had therefore their ministers or messengers to exact and levy them upon the people; as the Talmudists teach us[h]. And being charged with the service of the temple, they had by consequence power of keeping the public peace in the temple; where many seditions and uproars fell out upon occasion of their ceremonies, insomuch that the Romans allowed them a guard of soldiers to prevent them, commanded by one of the priests (as Josephus writes[i]), called therefore in the New Testament the captain of the temple.

[מַלְאָךְ, Mal. ii. 7.]

[Luke xxii. 4, 52; Acts iv. 1, v. 24, 26.]

§ 58. It is true, in the Law, where the power of the consistory is established (Deut. xvii. 8), there is no mention but of the judge, and priests, and Levites, as if it consisted of none else. And truly, the tribe of Levi having nothing to do besides the service of the temple, and always provided of maintenance, according to their rank; it appears the intent was, that the greatest number of those, that sat in that court, should come out of that tribe. But yet the judges, whom Josaphat settled at Jerusalem, that is, the consistory, consisted of Levites and priests and the heads of families in Israel: 2 Chron. xix. 8. And in the New Testament the consistory is always described by the mention of priests and

[The consistory always included persons that were neither priests nor Levites.]

[h] See Lightfoot, Temple-Service, c. v. sects. 3, 4 (Works, vol. i. pp. 913, 914).

[i] Antiq. Jud., lib. xx. c. 5, § 2 (Op. tom. ii. p. 889); and De Bell. Jud., lib. ii. c. 12. § 6 (Op. tom. ii. p. 1074). See also Lightfoot, Hor. Talmud. on S. Luke xxii. 4: and Grotius ad Matt. xxvi. 45.

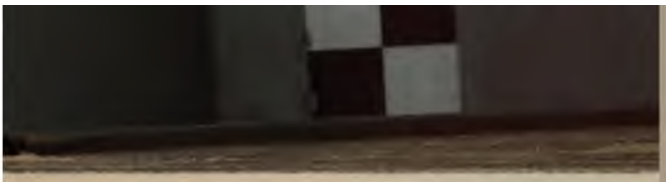
thereupon the land of promise, and free command of themselves in it. These laws, some of them, may and must be done by every one of them in particular; some cannot be kept without common consent. Is it his meaning to oblige every Israelite to enforce his brother to see those laws put in execution, to the execution whereof the consent of the people is requisite? Especially, having Himself provided an order of public government under Moses for the present, under the judges and elders and kings afterwards; which, being as much of God's appointment as any point of the Law besides, must needs be preferred before the preservation of any particular precept, as the public peace which gives effect to all the Law is to be preferred to any precept of it. No civil people but can easily understand this; and I conceive our people by this time understand it, though they did not some years since.

§ 65. If therefore a precept could concern the people in body, it follows, that those powers which stand for the people are obliged by it; that is, those who are trusted with the sovereign power of that people are obliged by it, being enabled to engage the consent of the whole. Not to go from our subject for an instance. The Law requires a sovereign court [to] be erected at Jerusalem, or wheresoever the ark should [be], to judge all causes determinable by the Law, and inferior courts in other cities, in the first or last resort. But suppose these courts are not erected in other cities, are they able to erect themselves? Suppose the high court at Jerusalem out of order, and destitute of vigour requisite to put itself and the inferior courts in order as it should do? Sure this was the case, when Josaphat was fain to put to his hand for the execution of this law, by which the rest of the Law was to be brought and kept in force; 2 Chron. xvii. and xix. We read many times in the Judges, of judges riding on asses; as it were, itinerant judges, riding from place to place to do justice: Judg. v. 9, 10, x. 4, xii. 14. We read of Samuel riding circuit to judge Israel; 1 Sam. vii. 16, 17, viii. 1, 2. What had this needed, if settled courts had been resident in every city according to the Law[x]? And so, we

[to be forced their kings

[Deu 8—1

See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 67—71.



in Oxford Library[a], testifies, that the head of the captive Jews in Babylonia had power of life and death over them; as I understand by those that have seen it. But it went lower with them other times, when they were fain to have recourse to excommunication, because they were not enabled to levy a fine to enforce the sentence of their courts with: as Maimoni[b] witnesseth. And the emperors for a favour grant them, that their excommunications be not nullified by the governors of provinces: lib. viii. Cod. Theod. *de Judæis et Cælicolis*[c].

[How the consistory was a court of religion.]

§ 69. And did they not covenant with God to live by those laws, and to inflict those punishments upon those offences? They did, as a free people: and so they did covenant to practise many laws besides; which, when they became subject to strangers, it was no sin for them not to live by, but the punishment of those sins for which they became subject to strangers. Such precepts as concerned the conscience of particular persons, because they are practiseable by every person in particular, must needs be understood always to oblige them so long as they were circumcised. But those which concern the body of the people, and cannot be executed without common consent, cannot be understood to oblige them, when the power is taken away which is able to engage the consent of the people. Now if the body of the people covenant with God to live by the laws which He should give, and to maintain their consistories in the power of interpreting

[a] Origen, Epist. ad Africanum, § 14 (Op. tom. i. pp. 27. E, 28. A), alleging the instance of the Jews under the Romans, in answer to Africanus' objection against the history of Susanna, infers that "εἰκὸς ἀρκεσθέντας τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους τῷ ὑποχειρίους αὐτοὺς ἔχειν, ἐπιτετραφέναι αὐτοῖς τὰ οἰκεῖα δικαστήρια." Wetstein in 1674 first edited the whole of this Epistle in the Greek. A fragment of it (a few lines of the first section) had been published by Hœschelius (in Adriani Isagoge Sacrarum Literarum) in 1602, and another by Patrick Young in 1637; but neither of them including the passage here quoted. A Latin translation of the whole had been published as early as 1570, and is in Genebrard's edition of the Philocalia, p. 61, fol. Paris. 1604. See De La Rue's preface to Origen's Works. There are two MSS. of the Epistle in the Bodleian Library, viz. among the Codd. Barocc. nos. xcviii. § 4, cxlv. § 3: and a third among Gerard Langbaine's Adversaria in the same Library (no. xi. § 11), who was probably Thorndike's informant referred to in the text. See Epil. Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxix. notes g, h; and Coxe's Catal. Codd. Græc. Bibl. Bodl., P. i. pp. 169, 248, 883. Thorndike, subsequently to writing the text, became possessed of a MS. of this letter of Origen in the Greek, copied from that of Patrick Young, i. e. from one of those among the Codd. Barocciani; which with his own notes and collations he left or gave to the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, where it now is (see below in the Life).

[b] See above, in the tract on Excommunication, § 8, note l.

[c] See ibid., note m.

backs, when He had brought Him to glory by His sufferings. And therefore Origen[d] saith excellently, that this consideration is like a chink or crevice in the wall; by which those, that live under the Law, might see light through, and discern the Gospel beyond it. [Mark viii. 34; Luke ix. 23, xiv. 27.]

§ 71. And so I conceive the business is done; and the ground is laid, upon which the interesse of sovereign powers in Church-matters must stand. For if the kings of God's people had right and power in matters of their religion by virtue of their act, when they took upon them the law of Moses: then by the Scriptures it appears, that Christian princes, and all sovereign powers of Christian people, have the same power and interesse in Church-matters, so far as the case is all one with Christianity and Judaism; if by the Scriptures it appear, that the Gospel calls as well the sovereign powers as the people of all nations to be Christians. [Power of Christian kings in Church-matters, as of Jewish kings in the Synagogue.]

§ 72. There is indeed difference in the case between the Law and the Gospel, between Christianity and Judaism;—that this was received, and by God appointed to be received, by all that would of all people, and appointed to be exercised for the only religion of all that should receive it, till by their patience all the rest and their own sovereign powers should be won to receive it. And therefore the question is not here, what sovereign power can do by God's law to make their people Christians or good. But though Tertullian or Origen might question[e], whether the revealed will of God was to make sovereign powers Christians; yet [they could not question,] that it was against His revealed will, that they should not be Christian till they ceased to be sovereign powers. The Anabaptists themselves are ashamed now to be Anabaptists in this point; that the power of the sword is inconsistent with Christianity[f]. And though it is to be feared, that some strings of it remain in the minds of them that profess it not, by the proceedings of this time; yet it is one thing to discover and suppress an error dissembled, another to confute an error professed. The one is necessary for them whom it [With such difference as is between the Law and the Gospel.]

[d] Quoted Epil., Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxii. § 14, note u.

[e] See above in § 18.

[f] The reference is no doubt to the proceedings of the New Englanders, see Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxix. begin.

concerns, when it becomes dangerous. The other would be unnecessary for me; not intending to do that again, which hath been [done] to so good purpose, that all contradiction is put to silence[g].

[Scripture testimony to the duty incumbent upon kings of maintaining the Church.]

§ 73. Only I will remember the apostle's words, 1 Tim. ii. 1 [—4]: "I exhort therefore, first of all, to make prayers, supplications, intercessions, thanksgivings, for all men, for kings and all in eminence; that we may lead a peaceable and quiet life in all godliness and honesty: for this is good and acceptable before God our Saviour, Who would have all men saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth." If God "would have all men saved" by becoming Christians, and therefore will have Christians pray for their princes that are not Christians, that the Church by them may be maintained in peace; then would He have it maintained by them, becoming Christians. And therefore this it is, which the Psalmist in Christ His person requires of them, Ps. ii.; and the prophets foretell of them in all the prophecies concerning the calling in [the] nations. Which, as it ends in that of Esay xlix. 23, "Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers,"—and lx. 16, "Thou shalt suck the milk of nations, and draw the breasts of kings,"—and of the Psalm, lxxii. 10, 11, "The kings of Tarsis and of the isles shall bring presents, the kings of Sheba and Saba shall offer gifts; all kings shall worship Him, all nations shall serve Him" (as first the wise men of the East did, which first fulfilled this, and were kings, as Tertullian[h] saith),—so the refusal of it ends in the threat of the Psalm, ii. 9, 11, "He shall bruise them with a rod of iron, He shall break them in pieces like a potter's vessel: ... kiss the Son, lest He be angry, and ye perish

[g] See ibid., c. xxvii. note z, for the Presbyterian defence of state-penalties inflicted for religion, in answer to Goodwin, Jer. Taylor, the "Belgic Arminians," &c. Rutherford was the principal maintainer of the principle of persecution, and that to all lengths, in his book entitled A Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience, publ. in 1649. How far Thorndike qualified the doctrine, and under what limitations he would have held it, see in his Reformation of Ch. of Engl. &c., cc. ii., iii.; and Disc. of Forbearance &c., cc. xxvii.—xxix.; and references there.

[h] "De illo autem tunc auri munere etiam David, Et dabitur Illi ex auro Arabiæ, et rursus, Reges Arabum et Saba munera adferent Ei. Nam et Magos reges habuit fere Oriens, et Damascus Arabiæ retro deputabatur antequam transcripta esset in Syrophœnicen, ex distinctione Syriarum; cujus tunc virtutem Christus accepit, accipiendo insignia ejus; aurum scilicet et odores." Tertull., Adv. Marc, lib. iii. c. 13; Op. p. 404. C.

in the way; if His wrath be kindled, yea but a little, blessed are all they that trust in Him." As we see by the whole course of the Apocalypse, the seal of all written revelations, where this of the same [Psalm] is quoted, Apoc. ii. 26, 27: if we understand not the meaning of it amiss.

[Reasons for publishing an interpretation of the Apocalypse.]

§ 74. I know[1] this true meaning of it is so far from the opinions that prevail on all hands, that it will bring much offence on me to publish it. But when I consider, what things we have seen done out of the wrong meaning of it,— English Christians burning churches, defacing the tombs and graves of the dead, destroying the monuments of Christianity, and in fine cutting the throats of English Christians, and thinking all the while, (as Hercules in the tragedies[k], when he shot his dear innocent babes, that he did hit Eurystheus or some of his oppressors, so) that they were all the while ruining the whore of Babel, and cutting antichrist's throat;—as Tertullian[l] said of Nero persecuting the Christians, that it must needs be a great good that Nero should persecute, so I must needs think that near Christianity, that offends a time so far distant from it. And therefore, being

[1] The remainder of this tract in the MS., from this section to the end, contains an account of the Apocalypse and of the other prophecies relating to antichrist, identical in substance, and the latter portion of it in words, with that which Thorndike had already published at the end of his Review of the Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St. (c. v. § 32—53) in 1649. The reasons assigned here for the expediency of its publication, compared with those in § 31 of the Review, sufficiently shew the considerably later date of the MS. The disquisition itself, as here revised by Thorndike, falls into two portions. The first contains an explanation of the Apocalypse, corresponding to that in the Review, c. v. § 32—37. This differs considerably, in the way of additions principally, from the Review; and is therefore here printed (viz. § 74—88, of the text). The second contains an account of S. Paul's prophecies and Daniel's, with a summary of the whole subject; and (except omissions) is a close and often a nearly verbatim copy of the Review, § 38—53. It is not therefore here printed. The differences between the MS. and the Review in this second portion, are mainly the omission in the former of § 42—44, and § 50, and of the sentence respecting Simon Magus at the end of § 40, of the latter.—Thorndike's sentiments on the subject were repeatedly published by him: see, besides the Review just quoted, Epil. Conclusion § 41, Just Weights and Measures, cc. i. § 2, ii. § 4, Disc. of Forbearance and Penalties &c., cc. ii., vii., Reform. of Ch. of Engl. &c., cc. vii.—xii.; above, § 8—11; and De Rat. Fin. Controv. &c., c. xiv. pp. 267, 268.

[k] Eurip., Herc. Furens, vv. 969, sq.

[l] "Consulite commentarios vestros; illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam cum maxime Romæ orientem Cæsariano gladio ferocisse. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostræ etiam gloriamur. Qui enim scit illum, intelligere potest non nisi grande aliquod bonum a Nerone damnatum." Tertull., Apologet., c. 5; Op. p. 6. C.

confident that I shall shew in a few lines better reasons to discover the true intent of the main body of the prophecy, than others have done in great volumes[m] for that which was not true, I will only insist upon the main hinges on which the whole of it turns, and shew what meaning the consequence and coherence of the whole frame requires; comparing it with the images and expressions of the ancient prophets (from which, as it is evident, those conceptions were impressed on the apostles), wherein God reveals him His purpose concerning the fortune of the Church: which being once settled, the interpretation of the rest will necessarily be concluded within the same bounds. Protesting, first, that the right understanding of a prophecy, as this is, cannot be necessary to make any man a good Christian, though the wrong may be effectual to make him a bad one: secondly, that I am not so tied to this interpretation, but that if any man can shew me how that whole body, which I shall expound, can be expounded to his sense without violence to Christianity and common sense, which hitherto I do not find to be done, I shall be ready to forsake it.

[The rider upon the white horse, at the opening of the first seal,]

§ 75. I begin with that, which appeared to St. John upon the opening of the first seal: Apoc. vi. 2; "Behold, a white horse, and his rider having a bow; and there was given Him a crown, and He went forth conquering and to conquer." He could not appear fighting and conquering both at once. Therefore we are to understand, that here He goes forth armed and mounted, pretending to conquer, but with a crown, to signify that He should certainly do it.

[was Christ.]

§ 76. Who it is that appears, is easily understood by Ps. xlv. 4—6: where the prophet thus singeth;—"Gird Thy sword upon Thy thigh, O mighty, with Thy glory and honour, go forwards, prosper, ride on, because of truth, meekness, and righteousness, and Thy right hand shall teach Thee terrible things; Thine arrows are sharp, the people shall fall under Thee, because they strike in the heart of the King's

[m] The reference is principally to Mede, whose works on the subject were published severally between 1627 and 1650; and together (among his other works) in 1664. Du Plessis also was probably in Thorndike's mind. More's earliest books upon it were published respectively in 1660 and 1664. See Epil. Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxiii. § 18, note r, § 26, note a; Reform. of Ch. of Engl. &c., c. x. § 8.

enemies." And yet [it] is still plainer who this is, by Apoc. xix. 11, sq.:—"I saw the heavens opened, and lo, a white horse, and his rider called the Faithful and True, and He judgeth and warreth in righteousness; but His eyes were a flame of fire, and upon His head many diadems, having names written[n], and one name written which no man but Himself knows; clothed in a garment dipped in blood; and His name is called the Word of God: and the hosts of heaven followed Him upon white horses, clothed in white pure fine linen; and out of His mouth goeth a sharp two-edged sword, wherewith to smite the Gentiles; and He shall rule them with a rod of iron; and He treadeth the wine-press of the fierce wrath of Almighty God; and He had upon the thigh of His coat a name written, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords."

[As subduing the Gentiles to receive the Gospel.]

§ 77. Our Lord Christ first appears, when He went forth at the preaching of His Gospel of "truth, meekness, and righteousness," unto the Gentiles; which because it should speedily be received, as the Psalmist prayeth, therefore He sits upon a white horse, with a sword upon His thigh, signifying the Gospel preached by His apostles, as also with a bow and arrows, signifying the same, as that which pierces further than the sharpest arrows or even any two-edged sword, to strike in His enemies' hearts, saith the Psalmist; convincing their inmost thoughts, and subduing them to the obedience of His Gospel.

[And judging His enemies.]

§ 78. But this is not all, though all this is fitly signified by this figure. That which this prophecy chiefly pretendeth to reveal, is, that He should so subdue His enemies as to judge and execute vengeance on those that obeyed not His Gospel, but persecuted it. Therefore, as He goes forth conquering, so having conquered He appears again as judge, punishing. Therefore is His coat drenched in blood; and with the sword that goes out of His mouth He smites the Gentiles, breaking them like a potter's vessel with an iron

[n] Thorndike follows the better reading of the text, "ἔχων ὀνόματα γεγραμμένα καὶ ὄνομα γεγραμμένον," κ.τ.λ. See Tischendorf's edition of the New Testament. In Walton's Polyglot, the Greek follows the received text, but the improved reading is that of the Syriac (tom. v. p. 974); and it is given among the Var. Lectt. Græcæ (ibid., p. 35 in tom. vi.). The textus receptus omits the words "ὀνόματα γεγραμμένα καί."

rod, and treading the wine-press of His Father's wrath, like a vintage of grapes ready for vengeance: as you have that figure expounded, Apoc. xiv. 18, 19.

[Both belong to the times of the Roman empire.]

§ 79. Wherefore, since it is agreed already, that the former appearance signifieth the going of Christ to subdue the Gentiles to the Gospel, it follows, that this second apparition signifieth nothing else but the manifestation of His vengeance upon the enemies and persecutors of it. So that, as the one, so the other, by this consequence must belong to the same times of the Roman empire[o].

[The martyrs' souls cry for vengeance against their Roman persecutors.]

§ 80. That this may be yet more manifest, see what appears to St. John at the opening of the fifth seal: Apoc. vi. 9—11. He sees "under the altar the souls of men slain for the word of God and for the witness" of the Lamb, "which they stuck to; and they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, Lord, holy and true, forbearest Thou to judge and take vengeance of our blood from the inhabitants of the earth? and there was given them long white robes; and it was told them, that they should rest yet awhile, till their fellow-servants were fulfilled and brethren, which must be slain as themselves." There is nobody, that knows any thing of the persecutions of Christianity, before it was received by the Roman empire, begun before this prophecy, that can imagine that it speaks of any thing else than the accomplishment of the same. And therefore the vengeance, that follows in the sequel of it, is no other but that, which the martyrs' blood, that was begun to be shed before St. John saw it, cried for at God's hands; which God here shews His prophet, should be accomplished after the accomplishment of the persecutions.

[Reading of the text in Apoc. vi. 11.]

§ 81. I take this reading which I have put down to be unquestionable (though in some copies[p] those words, "long white robes, and it was told them," are not found at all), because of that which follows, Apoc. vii. 9: "Behold a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, tribes,

[o] See the references at the end of note i above.

[p] In the edition and translation of the New Test. by Arias Montanus (Antw. 1592), v. 11 begins with the words, "καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἵνα ἀναπαυσώνται," κ.τ.λ. No such various reading is given in the Variantes Lectiones in the sixth volume of Walton's Polyglot; nor is there any variation in the verse in the critical editions beyond singulars for plurals. See Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, and Tischendorf ad loc.

people, and languages, standing before the throne and the Lamb, clothed in white robes, with palms in their hands." For it seems to be manifest by the consequence, that those, who before had long white robes given them, and their fellows, which there it was said should be killed in succeeding times, now appear serving and praising God in them, in the Church above: as it is expounded there afterwards.

§ 82. But for the vengeance prayed for and threatened before, it behoved, that way should be made for it by the opening of the sixth seal (Apoc. vi. 12, sq.): the signification whereof is in effect that great change, that fell out in the Roman empire by the power that God put in Constantine's hands; than which, since the Gospel was preached, there never fell out any thing of more remarkable consequence: signified by the end of the world there described, and the horror, [with] which Dioclesian, Maximian, Maximinus, Licinius, and the former persecutors of Christianity, and all their captains, judges, and ministers, all estates of the heathen empire, endured the sense of Christ's present and future vengeance on them for it.

[The opening of the sixth seal refers to the time of Constantine the Great.]

§ 83. This interpretation is none of mine, but hath been advanced by the most learned of them, that interpret the sequel of this prophecy to a far other purpose[q]: which I conceive they would not have done, had they observed, how the whole frame of it is tied together, and the correspondence which the parts of it bear to one another and the whole. For, the sum of it being propounded in the figure of a book with seven seals, which none but the Lamb could open (Apoc. v.), the effect of the seventh of them is divided into seven trumpets blown by seven angels (Apoc. viii. 1, 2, 6); signifying the proclamation of God's vengeance, which He had promised at the opening of the fifth seal to take of the persecutors of His martyrs.

[As is admitted by Mede himself.]

§ 84. This is manifest by the beginning of that chapter: where, after the seven trumpets were given to the seven

[The prayers of the saints in Apoc. viii.]

[q] "Hujus autem (sexti) sigilli casus est, cœli terræque motus admirabilis; qua mirifica illa per Constantinum M. ejusque successores Agni signiferos rei Romanæ ethnicæ mutatio et subversio figuratur," &c. &c. Mede, Comment. Apocalypt., Pars i. De Sigillo vi. (Works, Bk. iii. p. 554): and see the whole passage. The reference in Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 35, note u, should have been to Mede, not to Cornelius a Lapide.

[Rev. viii. 3—6.] angels that stand before God's throne, "another angel came and stood beside the altar of incense with a censer of gold, and there was given him much odours, to put to the prayers of all the saints upon the golden altar before the throne; and the fume of the odours went up before God with the prayers of the saints, from the hand of the angel; and the angel took the censer, and filled it of the fire upon the altar, and cast it on the earth, and there came forth a noise, and thunder, and lightning, and earthquake; and the seven angels prepared to blow the seven trumpets." What "prayers" do you read of before, to which the angel should put incense to make them go up sweet before God, but those which you heard of when the martyrs' blood called for vengeance?

[The same with those of the martyrs in Apoc. vi.] § 85. And if you ask, how those prayers are called "the prayers of all the saints," seeing it behoveth that the Church whereof St. John speaketh consist of other saints besides martyrs; the answer is an effectual proof of this interpretation, and the truth of it. For after the opening of the sixth seal, what is the reason, that the seventh is not presently opened? Surely you have it Apoc. vii. 1: for the four angels, that stand there "upon the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that no wind blow upon the earth or the sea," are the angels by whom the vengeance which the seven trumpets proclaim was to be executed. Therefore they "held the four winds," with which it was given them to "hurt the earth and the sea;" that is, to execute the sentence of the seven trumpets, as it follows presently after: because they are not to proceed, till the angel that "came up from the east" had sealed the hundred and forty-four thousand servants of God of the twelve tribes of Israel. That is to say, because, before God would shew His prophet the vengeance which He meant to take upon the persecutors of His Church, He thought fit to shew him that He meant to preserve a number of His own, as well from the effect of His vengeance upon the persecutors, as from their persecutions; whose souls, being gathered into the same heavenly society with the martyrs, as they are described Apoc. xiv. 1, sq., should join with them as well in the prayers afore mentioned in the fifth chapter, as in the praises of God, which in the sequel of the seventh he proceedeth to describe.

[Rev. vii. 3.]

[Rev. vii. 2—8.]

§ 86. So, then, the effect of the seven trumpets is nothing else but the vengeance, which God declareth that He would pour out upon the Roman empire for persecuting Christianity. A thing already confessed by the most judicious of our late expositors of this prophecy[r]: the consequence whereof, had it been considered as it ought, would I suppose have constrained him not to divide the rest, that followeth, from the tenth chapter inclusively, from that which went before, but to expound both to one purpose; the oversight of which point hath been in truth the cause of his whole mistake[s]. For whereas the angel had pronounced three woes upon the sounding of the three last trumpets (Apoc. viii. 13), signifying that the plagues of them should be greater than those that went afore; which is repeated before the sounding of the sixth and seventh (Apoc. ix. 12, xi. 14): it is most manifest, that the greatest plague is to come at the sounding of the seventh trumpet. And yet in that place, where the sounding of it is mentioned (Apoc. xi. 15), there follows nothing but joy. For he saith, "The seventh angel sounded, and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdom of the world is become our Lord's and His Christ's, and He shall reign to ages of ages." What can be the reason of this, but only that the joy of Christians for the advancement of Christianity must needs go along with the vengeance that is poured out on their persecutors. And the one, that is,

[The effect of the seven trumpets is God's vengeance on the Roman empire for persecuting Christianity.]

[r] "Septem sigillorum" (under the seventh of which the seven trumpets are included) "in universum scopus est, ut, discriminatis per eventorum characteres temporis fluxuri intervallis, indicetur, cujusmodi imperii Romani casuum ordine decurso, futurum esset ut Christus mundi numina quibuscum bellum susceperat, debellaret: sexta nimirum vice seu sexto sigillo, gentilis imperii Romani Deos; septimo autem, cum tubarum series ad novissimam pervenerit tubam, quicquid etiam postea ibidem de novo subortum fuisset, aut uspiam adhuc in mundo esset, idolorum et dæmonum cultus destructum et deletum iri," &c. Mede, ibid., De Prophetia prima, p. 546. And see the whole explanation given there, and in the following pages, of the "first prophecy," of "the seals." Thorndike obviously refers to Mede; and styles him "judicious," it is to be supposed, by comparison with other "*late* expositors." There is a reference in a later sentence of the MS. (in the portion not here printed) to "the most learned of expositors," for the interpretation of Daniel vii. 11, given in Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 47; by which of course Grotius is intended.

[s] After expounding cc. iv. and v. of the Apocalypse, Mede (as before, p. 546) proceeds to treat "de duobus prophetiis Apocalypticis:" scil. "prophetia prima, Sigillorum, complectitur fata imperii" (scil. cc. vi.—x.); "altera, Βιβλαρίδιον, fata Ecclesiæ seu religionis Christianæ" (scil. cc. xi.—xx.) These two prophecies he discusses successively in parts i. and ii. of his Commentationes Apocalypticæ.

the joy, is mentioned here; the other, that is, the plague, is deferred, till the cause of it, the persecution of the Christians, be more fully revealed.

[The trumpets and the vials belong to the same events.]

§ 87. Now the judgment, that follows, is the seven vials, and the effect of them, from the fifteenth chapter to the nineteenth. Therefore, as the consequence of the opening of the seventh seal is declared in the blowing of seven trumpets, so the consequence of the seventh trumpet followeth in the pouring out of the seven vials. So that, if the effect of six trumpets concern the Roman empire, of necessity the seven vials, which are the effect of the seventh trumpet, must concern the same, and the punishments to be poured out upon it for persecuting Christianity. Wherefore they are called (Apoc. xv. 1) "the last plagues, wherewith the wrath of God was accomplished," in regard of the former, whereby God began to avenge the martyrs' blood that cried to Him: Apoc. vi. 9. For as the persecutions began before the time of this prophecy, but were to continue till the number of the martyrs was accomplished; so are we bound to conceive, that the punishments published by the seven trumpets began not long after, but ended not till the seven vials are out. Therefore it must be observed, that the hundred and forty-four thousand, which are ordered to be sealed at the beginning of the seven trumpets (Apoc. vii. 1—8), do appear again with the Lamb, Apoc. xiv. 1; as having escaped the persecution, for which the seven vials are poured out, of which the whole thirteenth chapter speaketh. So that the trumpets and vials must needs all belong to the same, whenas the same persons are preserved under both.

§ 88. Neither is this gap made between the sounding of the sixth and seventh trumpet (Apoc. ix. 13, xi. 15), or between this and the pouring out of the vials (Apoc. xvi. 1), for any other cause, but to reveal, first, the persecution, for which God takes vengeance. For what signifies the victory of Michael and his angels over the devil and his (Apoc. xii. 7), but God's decree that Christianity should prevail? Or what else signifies the taking up of the child, that was to bruise the Gentiles with a rod of iron, to the throne of God (Apoc. xii. 5)? This passage, of all the rest, those that least believe the true sense, which I am proving, have understood

aright to concern the advancement of Christianity under Constantine, then executed, now revealed[t]. Wherefore the flight of the woman, following in time the fall of Satan into the world, which caused it (Apoc. xii. 6, 9), must needs begin as soon as persecution for Christianity began[u].

[t] "Hoc autem tum impletum fuit, cum jam sub Constantino Magno et successoribus ejus, Christiani, deturbato dracone, rerum potiti sunt." Mede, as before, Pt. ii. In Βιβλαρίδιον (Works, Bk. iii. p. 614); interpreting Rev. xii. 5.

[u] The MS. continues—"This persecution is at large foretold in the thirteenth chapter, to the same purpose as S. Paul had prophesied of it 2 Thess. ii.; though it seems there was more revealed to S. John by succession of time;"—and so on, as in Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 38—53: the remainder of the MS. and the Review being so nearly identical in sense, and for the most part even in words, as to make it needless to print the former. See above, § 74, note i. The differences, not verbal, that appear worth noting in the MS., are, at § 39 of the Review a reference to Pausanias as the authority for the first sentence of the paragraph (see Epil., Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxvi. § 25, note f), in § 40 the omission of the sentence relating to Simon Magus, the omission altogether of § 42—44, and 50, the addition in § 46, to ὁ νόμος, of the words "ὁ ναὸς, ὁ Ἰουδαϊσμὸς," and of an explanation of the term ἀποστασία from Heb.xiii.13, and a somewhat fuller (but unchanged) exposition of 2 Thess. ii. 4, and of Apoc. x. 5, 6, than is given respectively in § 39, 46.

LETTERS AND PAPERS.

LETTERS AND PAPERS.

I.

MR. HERBERT THORNDIKE TO MR. JOHN PELL[a].

For his worthy freind Mr. Pell[b] at Mr Hartlibs house hard by Charing Crosse.

SIR,

MR. TOVEY is gone out of Towne, and hath left mee to dispose of Mr. Warners[c] Papers, which I would have had him done himselfe. I have therefore sent you whatsoever I can conceive Brit. Mus. Sloane MSS.4279. fol. 275.

[a] This letter is an original. It is among Dr. Birch's collections. See Ayscough's Catal. of Unpublished MSS. in the British Museum, vol. ii. 4279, 59. There is no endorsement or direction to it, other than that prefixed, as above printed: but the first words prove it to have been written in London. Wood (Athen. Oxon., art. Thomas Hariot, vol. ii. col. 302) mentions, that certain logarithmic tables, made by Mr. Walter Warner, came, after Warner's death, "through the hands of Mr. Tovey, sometime fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge," into "those of Herbert Thorndike," and from the latter, "after his death, into those of Dr. Richard Busby, Prebend of Westminster:" who had them at the time of Wood's writing. Tovey was Milton's tutor during the later part of the latter's residence at Christ's College (Todd's Life of Milton, p. 15). He is mentioned also by Mede (letter of 20 Oct. 1630, in Cambr. Univ. Trans. by Heywood and Wright, vol. ii. p. 387). It appears by the letter here printed that the last part of Wood's statement is not correct: the papers having passed from Thorndike to Pell, and from the latter at *his* death to Dr. Busby. See also Rigaud's Correspondence of Scientific Men, vol. i. pp. 123, 215, and vol. ii. p. 219 (8vo. Oxf. 1841); and the next note.

[b] John Pell, a mathematician of some note in his time, afterwards D.D. and in holy orders, is best known as having been Cromwell's ambassador to the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland in 1654, and as having assisted Sancroft to reform the Prayer-book Calendar in 1661. He matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1624, and took the degree of B.A. in 1628, and of M.A. in 1630: therefore during Thorndike's residence there as fellow. In 1652 he had just returned to England from Breda, where he had been professor of philosophy and mathematics by appointment of the Prince of Orange. He was a friend and fellow-labourer of Samuel Hartlib. At his death in 1685, a great part of his papers fell into Dr. Busby's hands: to whose charity he appears to have been indebted at the close of his life. And in 1755 Dr. Birch procured them from the trustees of Dr. Busby, with Warner's papers among them. See Wood's Fasti Oxon. in an. 1631, vol. i. pp. 462, 463. ed. Bliss, and Birch's Hist. of the Royal Society there quoted; and Chalmers' Biogr. Dictionary, art. John Pell. His letters while ambassador in Switzerland have been lately printed: see above in the True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. iii. note b.

[c] Walter Warner was a mathematician of considerable celebrity. He was B.A. Oxon. (apparently) in 1578 (Wood's Fasti Oxon. in an.), and a great friend of Sir W. Raleigh and of Henry earl of Northumberland, and died about 1640. See Wood, Ath. Oxon., vol. ii. col. 301—303. ed. Bliss.

to concerne the Canon: Beeing 1. The Canon it selfe from 1 to 100,000: 2. a Collection of Papers sowed together, concerning I suppose the construction and use of it, intitled on the Front, Tabularia. 3. Papers of Interest and the questions of it sowed together. 4. A Peece by it selfe of about halfe a quire beginning with—Any ratio beeing given—5. the Canon from 1 to 10,000. 6. A foule Copy of the same in which are bound up other loose papers concerning the subject. 7. Foule papers in 9 bundles which seeme to be the first Copy of the large Canon. And my request to you is: First that you will take your owne time to peruse them in order to a resolution of publishing them, which upon perusing them, I hope you will declare. And then in consideration of common casualties and the uncertainty of my continuing [d], that you will certify mee of the receit of thes particulares. Which will bee very briefly done, if you thinke fit to send mee this backe, with your name subscribed to a line signifying the receite of them. And here, Sir, in best love and service recommended I take leave and remaine, Sir,

Your very loving freind to serve you,

H. THORNDIKE.

Dec. 23, 1652.

SIR,

The particulars named[e] above in your letter have beene carefully delivered by your porter to me. Your most obedient servant,

JOHN PELL.

Dec. 23, 1652.

II.

MR. HERBERT THORNDIKE TO DR. GILBERT SHELDON[f].

DEAR SIR,

Bodleian: Tanner MSS. vol. lii. fol. 31, 32.

I RETURN you Dr. S. [his] papers againe, having them by me at the coming of yours and having once hastily read them

[d] The word is almost obliterated in the MS., and is wholly illegible.

[e] The word is doubtful in the MS.

[f] This letter is endorsed by Bp. Tanner with the following words:—

"This is copied from the orig. in Dr. Stratford's hands; [and] seems to have been from Mr. Thorndike to Dr. Sheldon, —in answer to Dr. Sanderson's case of officiating publickly, when the Liturgy was forbidden—about 1653."

It has been printed by Dr. Jacobson in his edition of Sanderson's Works, vol. v. pp. 58, 59. Oxf. 1854.—For Dr. Stratford, bishop of Chester in 1689, see Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. iv. col. 670. ed. Bliss.—That the letter refers to Sanderson, is proved by the reference to his dis-

over, so as to discern his practise and arguments on which he grounds it. For his practise I confess I cannot approve it, upon this score that (besides his prayer before sermon,

putations: the 10th Prælection of those delivered by him at Oxford in 1647, and published under the title of De Obligatione Conscientiæ (Lond. 8vo. 1660 and again in 1682, pp. 259, sq.), being described in its title as one "in qua pervulgatissimum illud dictum (salus populi suprema lex), ut sit recte intelligendum, paulo fusius examinatur et explicatur."

The "paper" in which Sanderson's opinion on using the Liturgy was explained and defended, is dated Novemb. 2, 1652, and arose from a discussion among the leading Church clergy in London in the same year (see Jacobson's edit. of Sanderson's Works, vol. v. p. 37, note, and vol. vi. pp. 457, 458): but was not printed until after his death, viz. in 1678 at the end of Izaak Walton's Life of him, under the title of Bishop Sanderson's Judgment concerning Submission to Usurpers; and again under the title of The Case of the use of the Liturgy stated in the late times, among Nine Cases of Conscience occasionally determined by the late reverend Father in God Robert Sanderson, Ld. Bishop of Lincoln, also Lond. 8vo. 1678. His practice is described by himself, as, after some changes, finally as follows:—To "begin the service with a Preface of Scripture, and an exhortation inferred thence to make confession of sins: which exhortation" he "framed out of the Exhortation and Absolution in the Book, contracted and put together, and expressed for the most part in the very same words and phrases, but purposely here and there transplaced, that it might appear not to be and yet be the very same. Then followeth the Confession itself in the same order it was inlarged, only with the addition of some words whereby it is rather explained than altered."—[The form used by Sanderson is published at length in Walton's Life, in Wordsworth's Eccles. Biogr., vol. iv. pp. 433, 434.]—"After the Confession, the Lord's Prayer, with the Versicles and Gloria Patri, and then the Psalms for the day and the first Lesson: after which in the afternoon sometimes Te Deum (but then only when I think the auditory will bear it), and sometimes an Hymn of my own composing, gathered out of the Psalms and the Church Collects, as a general form of thanksgiving; ... and in the afternoon after the first Lesson the 98th or 67th Psalm: then the second Lesson, with Benedictus or Jubilate after it in the forenoon, and in the afternoon a singing Psalm: then followeth the Creed with Dominus Vobiscum, and sometimes the Versicles in the end of the Letany .. if I like my auditory; otherwise I omit these versicles. After the Creed &c., instead of the Letany and the other prayers appointed in the Book, I have taken the substance of the prayers I was wont to use before Sermon, and disposed it into several Collects or prayers, some longer and some shorter, but new modelled into the language of the Common Prayer Book, much more than it was before. And in the pulpit before Sermon I use a short prayer in reference to the hearing of the Word and no more: so that upon the matter in these prayers I do but the same thing I did before, save that what before I spake without book and in a continued form and in the pulpit, I now read out of a written book, broken into parcels, and in a reading desk or pew. Between which prayers, and the singing Psalm before the Sermon, I do also daily use one other Collect, of which sort I have for the purpose composed sundry, made up as the former for the most part out of the Church Collects with some little inlargement or variation; as namely Collects Adventual, Quadragesimal, Paschal, and Pentecostal, for their proper seasons, and at other times Collects of a more general nature, as for pardon, repentance, grace, &c. But after one or more of them I usually repeat the Ten Commandments with a short Collect after for grace to enable us to keep them."

Zouch, in his edition of Izaak Walton's Lives, p. 461. note d (4to. 1796), quotes other instances of a practice something like Sanderson's: e.g. on the part of Dr. Bull (Nelson's Life, pp. 33—35), Dr. Rainbow, afterwards bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Hacket, afterwards bishop of Lichfield (Granger's Biogr. Hist., vol. iii. p. 339). But none of them are so systematic or deliberate as Sanderson's, nor do they contain any similar design of deceiving the auditors. See also Wordsworth's note in his Eccl. Biogr.

which custom and former practise, if not the Canon itself, allow'd as lawfull) hee hath several parts of Service of his own making, and tho' mostly formed out of the Common Prayer Book, yet certainly vary'd from thence, and so directly against the negative command which prescribes this and no other[b].

Now supposing the present force to bee the excuse of his disobedience, yet cannot that have any appearance of a justification to this matter, because, though force may make mee omitt what I am commanded, yet it cannot make me do what I am forbidden; and for the lower sort of force, threats of turning out, I see not how there is place for that, for I am confident he that should abstain from using one word (till his prayer before sermon) which is not according to order of the Liturgy (as he that should begin with the Lord's Prayer, Psalms, and Lessons for the day, &c.), would be as safe as his method hath render'd him. And therefore my opinion is, that, as he that, prudently judging and discerning that he shall not be permitted to read the whole Liturgy at this time, doth use as much of it as he can at present (and withall nothing els), with a full intention to return to more of it, as fast as he can hope to be permitted, and hath no other fears to trash[c] him but such as may fall *in virum fortem*, and in this considers not his own but the Church's interest, shall not in equity be chargeable of obedience at this time, so hee that introduceth any new Form cannot by any analogy with him, or by any new reason, be thus justifyable. To this also I may add the consideration of this schisme, as that is the setting up *Altare contra Altare*, (not Presbytery against Episcopacy but) Directory against Liturgy, which is comply'd with in these new Formes, but is not so in the bare omission of some part of the Liturgy.

Now for his reasons to justify his practise, I have not in this place leasure to give you any large account of them, nor indeed to read it over a second time to that purpose. Yet his first Rule, of considering in all laws the ultimate intention of your lawgiver to procure the publick good, is to my understanding of very ill consequence, if it be resolved

[b] Miswritten in the MS., "(this &c.) no other."

[c] So in the MS.

sufficient to dispense with my obedience to any particular law. For who shall judge at any time whether such an act of obedience to a standing law be for the publick good? The lawgiver I acknowledge may; and accordingly either dispense with or abrogate it. But when he doth neither, shall any particular subject do it upon his own argument, then farewell all subjection, any farther then either the hypocrite will judge, i. e. pretend to judge, or the seducible weak person be able to judge, or the more judicious, upon what appears to him (wherein he also may much err, if he see not all that the lawgiver sees), shall actually judge to be for publick good; and that will prove in the effect very little, because what shall by any of these be on those grounds regularly done, would have been done probably if it had never been cõmanded, and so hath little of obedience. And truly Dr. S. read Lectures to vindicate the maxim of *Salus populi suprema lex* fro' modern abuses, yet I cannot see how they that forsaking the known lawes appealed to the Fundamentalls upon the force of that maxim can be sayd to have offended, if that general intention of the law may by every particular man be taken in to dispense with his disobedience; and sure to this sence it was that this maxim was at the beginning of this warr so ordinarily applyed.

III.

MR. HERBERT THORNDIKE TO ARCHBISHOP USSHER.

My Lord,

I have perused Bar Nachman[d] upon Exod. chap. xii. ver. 40, but do not find that he begins the 430 years from the birth of Isaac. He recites the exposition of Jarchi[e],—that the 400 years begin from the birth of Isaac, because it is said, "Thy seed shall be a pilgrim," but the 30 from the decree between the cloven creatures. Which, though he confesses

Ussher's Works, vol. xvi. ed. Elrington, Letter ccexxviii. pp. 306, sq.: from Parr's Life and Letters of Ussher, pp. 616, sq.

Gen. xv. 13.

[d] i. e. Rabbi Moses Nachmanides, Comment. in Pentateuch., fol. Ulyssip. 1489, and again Venet. 1545.—For "Exod." in the text, stands in Parr's book, by a miswriting probably in the original, "Gen." And the words "chap." and "ver." are inserted throughout by Elrington.

[e] i. e. Rabbi Salomon or Isaac Jarchi, Comment. in Pentateuch.; of which there are many editions, and one correct. et emendat. per Manassem Ben Israel (4to. Amsterd. 1614), mentioned below.

to be the opinion of their doctors, he easily refutes, because
Gen. xii. 4. Abraham was 75 years old when he came out of Haran, much more then. This, he says, Seder Olam[f] salves[g], by saying, that Abraham was but 70 years old when God made that covenant with him, and that he returned afterwards into Mesopotamia, and left it finally when he was but 75 years old. But this being in his eye but a midrash[h], he says, according to the letter, that when it is said, "Thy seed shall be a pilgrim 400 years," the intent is, only to express the time in gross, not to determine precisely the time of it;
Gen. xv. 16. which he reserves a latitude for, by mentioning the fourth generation, and the wickedness of the Amorite to be completed, which occasioned also 40 years stay in the wilderness. And so the construction of the words he makes to be this,—And the pilgrimage of the children of Israel in Egypt was till 430 years that they dwelt there, until that were fulfilled to them which was said, "In a land not their own." Which is the same phrase, saith he, with that of Deut. chap. xi. ver. 14, "And the days that we travelled from Kadesh Barnea, till we passed the brook Zered, were 38 years." For this time was not spent in travelling from Kadesh Barnea, for there they staid many years, and passed the brook Zered, where 38 years were accomplished. And so Dan. chap. xii. ver. 12, "Happy is he that expects and attains to 1335 days." Which is not to those days, but to the end of them. Here, I confess, having Jarchi his reason to begin the 400 years at Isaac, and this to add 30, I thought he might have taken that course. But then the children of Israel must have dwelt 240 years in Egypt, which is with him an inconvenience, because the text רדו שמה by Gemara[i], signifies, that they were to stay in Egypt but 210. But another consideration he hath, of good account to my thinking;—that the revelation of 400 years, tending to limit the time when God

[f] Seder Olam is the title of two books, viz. סדר עולם זוטא ובא סדר עולם or Ordo Mundi Magnus et Parvus (4to. Venet. 1545). See above, Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 14.

[g] So in Parr: misprinted "solves," and "solved," by Elrington, here and below in p. 121, line 5.

[h] "מדרש Midrash, the mystick and allegorical doctrine and exposition of the Scriptures." Lightfoot, Hebr. and Talmud. Exercit. on St. Luke; Works, vol. ii. p. 422.

[i] i. e. by taking the letters of the two Hebrew words as numerals. They are part of Gen. xlii. 2; scil. "Get you down thither."

would give his seed the land which presently He promised him, it is to be understood from the time of the promise. And because then they must have dwelt in Egypt 220 years, or thereabouts, he says, if the 210 years be a tradition in Israel, it may be salved by imputing it to the sons of Jacob only, not reckoning the 17 years that he lived in it to be of the number. For thus, 227 in Egypt, 190 from the birth of Isaac unto Jacob's going down, and 13 from the promise to the birth of Isaac, make 430; so I understand him. He saith further, that the 30 years must be understood to be added for the sins of the Israelites in Egypt, idolatry, neglect of circumcision, and the like, upon this rule, that all promises that are not with oath, imply a tacit condition; and that, upon the same account, their pilgrimage is prolonged 40 years in the wilderness, "a land not theirs," but belonging to the serpents and scorpions. This is the effect of his commentary upon that place, which being close couched, I would not undertake to abridg further, if perhaps any thing in it may prove novelty to your Grace.

Gen. xlvii. 28. Gen. xxv. 26, xlvii. 28.

As for Abarbniel[j], I can easily assure, that he understands the calling of Abraham, Gen. chap. xii. ver. 1, to have been out of Charan, for he calls the opinion of Abenezra[k] expounding that text of his calling out of Ur, which we follow, as agreeing with S. Stephen, שקר מבואר, a "plain lye:" for he doth not believe at all that Terah or Abraham came out of Ur of the Chaldees upon any call of God, but observes all the text of Gen. chap. xi. ver. 25[—30], to intimate the misfortunes of Terah in Ur:—that, whereas the posterity of Sem had children at thirty years, he had none till seventy; that, whereas they begat sons and daughters, he had but three sons; that of these three, one died young, another, having married, had no children, and the like:—and infers, that these were the occasion to resolve him to leave Ur, and to come into Canaan, whether as more healthy, or whether as more fortunate, according to his astrology. Something nevertheless he delivers, which seems to justify S. Stephen's words, in that he holds both Ur and Charan to have been in Meso-

Acts vi. 2—4.

[j] Abarbniel, i. e. Isaac Abarbanel, Liber פירוש התורה. Comment. in Legem, fol. Venet. 1584.

[k] Rabbi Abraham Abenezra, Comment. in Pentateuch., fol. Neap. 1488.

potamia beyond Euphrates, according to the words of Joshua, chap. xxiv. ver. 2. For, though Chaldea he supposes to be on this side of the river, yet he supposes that a place beyond the river may well be called Ur of the Chaldees. As for the purpose, if we suppose that the Chaldees under Nimrod should conquer, beyond the river, this place, as well as those we read of Gen. chap. x. ver. 10, 11; which he thus understandeth, that Nimrod went forth from those parts, when he said afore, that "the beginning of his kingdom" was to inlarge it in those parts, which he mentions afterwards. In this then he seems to comply with S. Stephen's words. But for the coming of Abraham out of Ur, he acknowledges no call of God, though he maintains the truth of the tradition, that Abraham was to have been cast into the furnace of fire, because he disputed against Nimrod's gods; and that, being cast into prison in the mean time, he was let go, to avoid further inconvenience; which concurring with Terah in his former deliberations, resolved them to go from thence into Charan, a place of the country of Syria, out of the dominion of the Chaldeans. And this is that which I find Abarbniel acknowledg that they have by tradition. Now I cannot say that I have found anything in Bereshith Rabba[1], that he came out of Charan after the death of Terah; but I conceive I have found something that might move a man to think so. For there it is said, that one R. Isaac, observing that there wants sixty years to the death of Terah, by the time of Abraham's travelling, excuses it by the mystical sense, that the wicked are said to be dead when they are alive. Abraham, he says, was afraid that they would blaspheme God's name, if His servant should forsake his father in his old age. Whereupon God said, I will dispense with the honor of father and mother in thee, though in nobody else: and, besides, he shall die before thou shalt go forth. Which, in regard of the promises, I should take to signify, that it shall be said in the Scripture, Terah died, &c., to wit, in the mystical sense. It followeth there immediately, that R. Judah and R. Nehemiah both said, that there was a two-

Gen. xi. 26, 32; xii. 4.

[1] Rabbah Ben Nachman is said by Ganz (Chronol. Sacra-Profana, p. 114. tr. by Vorst. 4to. Lug. Bat. 1644) to be the author of Bereshith Rabbah, i.e. the Commentary on the Book of Genesis.

fold לך לך[m]. R. Judah said, one out of Aram Naharaim, and another out of Aram Nachor. R. Nehemiah said, one out of Aram Naharaim and Aram Nachor, and another when He blew him from between the cloven sacrifices to Haran back again: to wit, according to Seder Olam, as I conceive it. Which I would not omit to put down, because it evidences a calling out of Ur, according to the old Rabbies, a midrash[n], as Abenezra. To which purpose there is another midrash afore upon Jerem. chap. li. ver. 9. in the name of Rabbi Azariah. "We have cured Babylon;" to wit, in the days of Enoch: ["but she[o]] was not healed," in the days of the flood; "let her alone," at the division of languages; and "let us go every man to his own land," in the days of Abraham. For here Abraham's going forth is from Babel, that is, from among the Chaldeans. This is all that I have found, for Zoar[p] is not to be found in our colledg library, and therefore I purpose to write to Mr. Pocock to look into it at Oxford to the same purpose.

My Lord, I have dealt with Dr. Walton, as in a business that I am affected with. He shewed the difficulty to be doubled by the Arabick following the Roman copy. I proposed to change the order of the Roman copy, retaining the text. To which he answered, upon consideration, that the inconvenience was incurred already, because many transpositions are passed in the Kings and Proverbs, so that it is too late to avoid it in Jeremy. I proposed to print a twofold Greek, one to answer the Hebrew out of the Antwerp copy, another to answer the Arabick in a space below. But he stood so hard upon the foresaid reasons, that I am afraid I shall not prevail.

As for Manasse Ben Israel[q], I had agreed with Dr. Walton

[m] The words of God to Abraham in Gen. xii. 1. are, לֶךְ־לְךָ מֵאַרְצְךָ &c.

[n] So in Elrington. "M——," in Parr. The word was probably illegible in the MS.

[o] Misprinted "prusthel" both in Parr and Elrington: which a reference to the Bereshith Rabba and to Jerem. li. 9 shews to be a simple blunder. The conjecture in the text is due to Dr. Pusey.

[p] Scil. Liber הזוהר (i. e. Splendor), seu Comment. in Quinque Libros Mosis, by Rabbi Simeon Ben Jochai, fol. Crem. 1565, and elsewhere.—"In November (1655) Mr. Thorndike returns our author (Pocock) thanks in my Lord Primate of Armagh's name, for his resolution of past quæries, relating to opinions of the Rabbis on a certain point, and proposes fresh ones." Twells, Life of Pocock, pp. 271, 272. 8vo. 1816 (first publ. in 1740), from letters of Thorndike in his possession.

[q] Menasseh or Manasseh Ben Israel, born in Portugal about 1604, died in Amsterdam 1659, was a celebrated Jewish writer, and both divine and physician. He is best known, however, as the person who obtained large and (for the age) surprizing privileges for

upon a day and hour to go to him. But meeting him occasionally the day before, he proposed to him, but could not learn from [him] anything that he knew, concerning any received number of marginal readings. And for the saying of Elias, he utterly slighted it, not acknowledging, or not discovering any thing he knew of it. Hereupon I thought it not fit for me, equally a stranger to him, to meet him in the same thing, till I have got some introduction to him (for I hear he is to stay here a time); and then I shall remember your question of R. Judah, which I count desperate, unless Broughton[r] had told us what he hath written, or that he is one of them that are recorded in the Talmud.

This is that which I have at present for answer to your Grace's letter. And if there be anything which you please to command me further, I shall be very glad to be imploy'd in it. In the mean time, with my humble service, commending myself to your Graces prayers, I pray God to keep your Grace in good health, and take leave to rest,

My Lord,

Your Grace's humble servant in Christ,

Nov. 10, 1655[s]. H. THORNDIKE.

IV.

AGAINST COMMUNICATING WITH THE PRESBYTERIANS OR OTHER SECTS, IN 1656.

From Westminster Chapter Library.

THE business of Lent in the primitive Church in respect of those that were not yet Christians, was the catechizing of them; that thereupon, professing Christianity, they might first be baptized, then communicate[t]. Now that all are baptized infants, the reason is the same, why the business thereof should be to catechize them first, that being confirmed they may communicate. But in respect of others, if they had forfeited their Christianity, the business thereof was penance[u];

the Jews from Cromwell. See also his Vindiciæ Judæorum, dated from London and written in English, printed in 1656, and again in the Phœnix (vol. ii. pp. 391, sq.). He had a notion also of the ten tribes being settled in America. See Chalmers' Biogr. Dictionary.

[r] Hugh Broughton, the Rabbinical scholar, 1549—1612.

[s] The allusion to the college library seems to imply that this letter was written from Cambridge, whither Thorndike had no doubt gone from London, his usual residence apparently at this time, in order to consult the books there. Ussher was in London at the time.

[t] See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. vii. § 15; Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 41; Just Weights and Measures, c. xviii. § 6.

[u] See Epil., Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 28.

that, being restored to the favor of God in the judgment of His Church, they might communicate. But whether so or not, that by hearing sermons and other extraordinary devotions, they might be prepared for Easter. No marvel if the present disorder make all this superstitious. The title of our salvation is the covenant of our baptism, whereby we undertake to profess Christianity and to live according to it, in despite of the devil and all his works, though we suffer death for it: God promising forgiveness of sins and everlasting life, so long as we do; and founding His Church to that very end and purpose, to exact of those who are to be baptized the profession of that Christianity which our Lord taught by His apostles and which brings the said promises, but of those which are baptized, the performance of the same. The sects of this time have found an easier way to heaven than this. Saving faith, justifying faith, is this, to believe that we are justified or predestinate to life everlasting, as those for whom Christ died, not dying for those that are out of the number of His elect. He that can do this, all his sins, past, present, and to come, are pardoned; whether from everlasting, by virtue of God's giving Christ for them, or, by His revealing it to them, from the time that they believe it. Upon these terms, how should they think themselves tied to live as Christians, or to repent and return to their Christianity forfeited? who were always bound to believe that their sins are pardoned before they do so, that is, whether they do or not. No marvel if they break the Church in pieces, and make themselves Churches at their pleasure upon these terms: if they lay aside the sacraments as indifferent ceremonies, not supposing that the covenant of our baptism is made or renewed by them. You see what danger there is, that those sects will swallow up the Church which they have broken in pieces. The good orders and customs and laws of the Church are out of force, and afford you not that conduct in the exercise of our Christian profession for which they were first made. The churches are possessed for the most part with those, which either teach this or will not disown it, and have broken the Church in pieces for it. Fear of temporal penalties, and difficulty of finding what course to take, makes even those who detest this profession, own them for their teachers, by frequenting their sermons, and that for the ser-

vice they owe God with His Church. This it is that hath carried me so far as to represent your case to you. The less help we can expect from the Church, the more we must needs stand bound to help ourselves, with the help of the clergy that remain, and to make use of this time, to prepare ourselves to renew the covenant of our baptism when we come to communicate. And since for our sins this calamity is come upon the Church, that is, upon us all, and continues upon us, let us not cease to call upon God day and night, that they may be no hindrance to the restoring of unity in His Church upon a sincere profession of true Christianity: nor, in every man's particular, to that grace which may make him capable of and fit for so great a blessing[v].

V.

CERTIFICATE OF H. THORNDIKE RESPECTING ABP. USSHER'S DOCTRINE IN THE POINT OF UNIVERSAL REDEMPTION: SENT TO DR. PIERCE IN 1657 OR 8[w].

CALLING to mind that you questioned me whether my Lord Primate[x] said to me that Christ dyed for all *intentionally*, I have thought fit to say further, that I did answer you affirmatively, not because I do remember that he used that word, but because I am satisfied he could mean no otherwise. The sufficience of His death not signifying that which either of us understood to be in question. And that sufficience of grace, which Dr. Ward maintained (with my Lord Primate's approbation) that the Gospel bringeth to all that hear it preached, argueth the intent of His death (and not only the value of it), being given in consideration of it. Thus much as by a witness will be deposed by

H. THORNDIKE.

[v] This fragment, of either a Letter or a tract, which is preserved in the Chapter Library at Westminster, is to be dated about 1655 or 1656, as is plain by its contents. See Thorndike's printed Letter conc. the Present State of Religion, § 1, 2. notes b—f.

[w] This certificate (with two others, from Dr. Bryan Walton and Dr. Peter Gunning respectively) was sent to Dr. Pierce, then engaged in a controversy with Dr. Bernard (Ussher's chaplain) respecting Abp. Ussher's sentiments on the Calvinistic doctrines; and was published by him in his Self-Revenger Exemplified in Mr. William Barlee, Appendix, pp. 156, 157 (4to. Lond. 1658): and from Pierce's book, in Todd's Life of Brian Walton, vol. i. pp. 205, 206 (8vo. Lond. 1821), and in Elrington's Life of Ussher (Ussher's Works, vol. i. p. 294. Dubl. 1847). Pierce had received a certificate to the same effect from Thorndike, "first by word of mouth, and afterwards by writing" (Self-Revenger, ibid. p. 156).

[x] Scil. Abp. Ussher, deceased March 21, 165$\frac{5}{6}$.

VI.

MR. HERBERT THORNDIKE TO MR. WILLIAM SANCROFT.

London, Dec. 18th *St*[*ylo*] *N*[*ovo*] 1657[y].

SIR,

I MUST give you many thanks for your care in my busi- Brit. Mus. Harleian MSS. 3785. nesse[z]. I am very lately ingaged in it here to my very great fol. 38. case if God grant successe. And for that reason alone I am disposed of till neere Midsumer. If you find cause to come hither, God will grant us to see one another. If not, I desire to heare of your motions, or resolutions. My troubles that have detained mee here this winter increase as yet, calling in question a great part of my subsistence[a]. Nevertheless I doe no way lay aside my former thought[b], onely referre my resolution till I bee disingaged of this businesse. The place of Salmasius does not seeme to signify that hee had any copy of Origen upon John: for that which is extant

[y] The originals of this and the following six letters (marked VI., VII. VIII., IX., X., XI., XII., in the present collection) are preserved in a volume of Abp. Sancroft's Papers and Correspondence in the Harleian MSS. vol. 3785. folios 38—44. Sancroft went abroad in November 1657, to Amsterdam; removed to Utrecht in the following December, and continued there until the middle of 1659. Mr. Gayer proposed in October 1658 to join him in a tour to the south of Europe in the following spring, but the intention was not carried into effect until July 1659, when they quitted Holland, and passed successively to Geneva, Venice, Padua, and Rome; at which last place they were overtaken by the news of the Restoration in 1660. See D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, vol. i. c. ii. These facts will explain the allusions to Sancroft's motions in this and the following letters.

[z] This no doubt was some literary commission, relating to the intention which Thorndike at this time entertained, of editing the entire Works of Origen. See W. Reading's Preface to his edition of Origen, De Oratione, 4to. Camb. 1728 (from Huet's Preface to his edition of Origen's Commentaries, Rothom. fol. 1668); and also below in the Life of Thorndike. The Great Polyglot Bible was published before the date of this letter; and Thorndike was now busy in writing his Epilogue. But he appears (by Lord Clarendon's mention of the subject, see the Life below) to have kept this project, generally speaking, secret from his friends. Yet the allusion in the Letter following this, to probable troubles arising to him from the design in which he was engaged, seems to point to the Epilogue. And Sancroft may have been in his confidence.

[a] There is no evidence of the particular trouble alluded to. Thorndike was aided with money by his college (after his expulsion) in 1649, 1650, 1651, 1654, and again in 1659; but not in the interval. The expression of the text is hardly consistent with Calamy's assertion, that the intruded rector of Barley, Mr. Ball, "punctually paid" the appointed fifth of its revenue to the rector whom he had ejected. See in the Life, below.

[b] Seemingly his intention to join Sancroft abroad as soon as he should be able to leave England. See the following letters. The expression used in the Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Church, c. xxxi. § 33, appears to indicate that the writer had not then (i. e. in 1659) seen continental countries with his own eyes; and the letter here marked XI., shews the present intention of foreign travel to have been laid aside. See below in the Life.

in Bodley's library [c], whereof I have the copy, containes no more then the Latine, which reaches not so farre as the 19th chapter [d]. For that which remaines is but a parcell of his Exposition upon John, extracted at I know not whoes discretion. Therefore I take his wordes to signify onely that hee had an extract out of something of Origens not printed. Which beeing but a paper perhaps will not be found. But if you thinke good to make enquiry, and find anything of Origens, I am willing to give as much for it as any other man; though my hope of that which is in the library at Florence [e] is at an end, if it bee true which I heare, that my frind there is deade. And though Mr. Smith puts mee in some feare that Morden of Cambridge, reprinting Origen *contra Celsum* [f], will adde to it some part of that which I have, namely, the Dialogues with the Marcionist [g], I would have had him printed [h] all mine withall, if he hadde imployed any fit man as Mr. Smith about it; but hee tells mee hee imployes onely young men whome I know not, and therefore will not put my copy into their handes. My service to Mr. Honiwoodde [i]; and when hee hath beene at Amsterdam, I shall

[c] Origen's Commentary upon S. John was first published in the Greek by Huet in 1668. Only nine tomes are preserved out of apparently 39: the last of which, viz. tom. xxxii., carries the Commentary down to the thirty-third verse of the thirteenth chapter of the Gospel. A Latin translation was published first by Ferrarius in 1551. The Bodleian (Greek) MS. was employed for the first time by De la Rue in the Benedictine edition of Origen (Paris, 1759). It is described in Coxe's Catal. Codd. Græc. Bibl. Bodl., tom. i., Codd. Miscellanei, num. 58. p. 652. Thorndike possessed a Greek MS. of the work copied from one at Oxford, which he gave to the Library of Trin. Coll. Cambr. (see below in the Life).

[d] See last note.

[e] This apparently refers to the Codex Barberinus mentioned by De la Rue in his Monitum (§ vii.) prefixed to Origen's Comment. in Johannem. Dr. Price was in correspondence with Thorndike from Florence in 1653 (Ussher's Letters, no. cccx.; Works, vol. xvi. p. 261). His death however took place in 1676.

[f] Origenis contra Celsum libri octo. Ejusdem Philocalia.—Gulielmus Spencerus Cantabrigiensis, Collegii Trinitatis Socius, utriusque operis versionem recognovit et annotationes adjecit &c.—Cantabrigiæ, excudebat Joan. Field, . . impensis Gulielmi Morden, Bibliopolæ. Cantab. 4to. 1658.

[g] The Dialogue De Recta in Deum Fide or Contra Marcionitas, attributed to Origen, was first printed in the original Greek in 1678 by J. R. Wetstein (4to. Basil.). It had appeared in a Latin translation as early as 1555. Thorndike possessed a Greek MS. of it (and of other tracts of Origen) which he gave to the Library of Trin. Coll. Cambr. in 1670 (see below in the Life). It was *not* printed with the Cambridge edition of the Philocalia &c. in 1658.

[h] So in the MS.

[i] Michael Honywood was Sancroft's companion at the beginning of his foreign voyage. He was of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Junior Proctor in 1628; was made Dean of Lincoln in 1660, and died there in 1681. See a letter of Bramhall's, in his Works, vol. i., speaking of accompanying Sancroft and Honywood on their way to Utrecht from (apparently) Amsterdam.

hope to heare. With my best love and service, commending you to God as,

Sir, your affectionate frind to serve you,

H. THORNDIKE.

SUPERSCRIBED
This
For Mr. William Sandcroft[k],
recommended to Mr. Michael Honiwoode,
at his lodging in
Utrecht.

VII.

MR. HERBERT THORNDIKE TO MR. WILLIAM SANCROFT.

London, A • • • • 2[l], *St[ylo] N[ovo]*, 1658.

MY GOOD FREIND,

MY businesse ha[th i[m]]ngaged mee among such people that no promise serves mee to bee master of mine owne since. Hadde promises signified among them, as among other men, it hadde beene by this time well towards an end. And nowe I cannot say that above a fifth part of it is done. Since the receite of youres last friday, I have a second workman, and am promised more, but the utmost I can promise myselfe is to leave by Midsumer; and, if I iudge by my experience hitherto, I must in discretion set backe the end of my engagement a good while after that[n]. Brit. Mus. Harleian MSS. 3785. fol. 41.

For youre question concerning the study of Physicke[o], it

[k] The Archbishop's name was frequently spelt thus. See D'Oyly's Life of him, vol. i. c. i. pp. 4, 5.

[l] A few letters, and perhaps a figure, are here torn off. The month is almost certainly April, as appears by the reference to "Midsummer" in the first sentence, compared with the similar references in the preceding and following Letters; but the day may be either the 2nd or the 12th or the 22nd. Whoever arranged Sancroft's papers, took the month to be August, and placed the letter accordingly between those here numbered IX. and X.: but the allusions to dates in the letters themselves are decisive in favour of April; and the allusions to the study of physic and to the plan of foreign travel in this letter and that of May 28, agree best with the supposition that the latter followed the former instead of preceding it.

[m] These letters are torn off.

[n] The edition of Origen, projected by Thorndike, appears to be the work here spoken of. Yet the expressions in the latter part of the letter, of making it his "chief business," and of personal consequences to be apprehended, suit the Epilogue much more closely. See above in Letter VI., note z.

[o] The idea of gaining a livelihood by practising medicine appears to have occurred to more than one of the ejected clergy at the time of the Rebellion: as e. g. to Thorndike himself (see also below, Letter VIII.), and to Sancroft (as here intimated). Dr. Bathurst, the ejected President of Trinity College, Oxford, took the degree of M.D., and actually practised as a physician (see his Life by Warton, pp. 36—43).

is most true I did once thinke upon it; and laide not aside that thought, till I found by experience, that my weaknesse was not able to manage it, and this which I nowe have in hand[p], both. I had then given it quite over, when my litle part in the Great Bible[q] came crosse to delay the doing of that which I had chosen. If my experience may bee any advise to you, thinke not of it. For, I assure you, I should nowe repent mee, and doe, of any time that I did or might have borowed for it. And for youre provision, I can onely showe you my example. I took the resolution when I sawe not means to prosecute it. Nowe I doe, if God make it good to mee. For, though I have the same affection for that study as at any time I ever hadde, yet I have resolved the cheife businesse of my study shall bee the further consideration of that which I am nowe about, and, such is my weaknesse, I know it will allowe mee to looke upon other thinges onely for diversion. I knowe howe imperfect that is which nowe I am about. And therefore, though I have not patience at present, yet I intend it better, if God spare mee life. And herein, I will not dissemble to you, my resolution[r] suffers some doubt. For, whereas, when I sawe you, I thought it necessary for mee to leave this place, either for the doing, or upon the doing of it, I nowe question whither it be expedient or not, and that upon such a reason, that, if I bee able to showe it you, when my businesse is done, I hope you will not blame mee of inconstancy. But this is not to say, that I have changed that resolution, which indeede I have not changed. You see howe I am presently ingaged; my resolution requires but the finishing of it. Doe mee but the favor to let mee knowe howe youres goes forward in the meane time, for I am resolved to fixe as soone as I am free. And here with, Sir, I take leave allwayes to rest,

Sir,

Your assured frind to serve you, H. T.

SUPERSCRIBED
This
For his very good freind Mr.
Sancroft at
Utrecht.

[p] See above in note n.

[q] The Great Bible was published in 1657; but Thorndike was employed upon it as early as 1652. See Letter III.; and in the Life, below.

[r] Viz. to join Sancroft abroad. See above in Letter VI., note b.

VIII.

MR. HERBERT THORNDIKE TO MR. WILLIAM SANCROFT.

SIR,

HEARING no further from you, to showe you that I lay not the thought of my iourney aside, I adde to my last that nowe I perceive I am not to expect to have done my businesse till Michmasse, not that I am certaine that then I shall have done, but that I see no reason to doubt it. If you continue youre resolution for Physicke[s], I shall thinke it an advantage to mee, for I shall hope to learne something of that you learne, by you. Whither my litle studies may bee any satisfaction to you I know not. Leyden, Lovaine (if any intercourse bee to bee hadde with it[t]), will serve mee, with Paris. If you resolve to passe the Alpes, I forsweare it not, having you to see mee buried, if I dy there; but then I thinke of Rome for my place of most abode. I tell you the utmost of my thoughts, that you may thinke by youre owne what convenience wee may bee to one another. When you please to write, I shall understand whither you remove this summer or not. Praying God that you may find your account whatsoever you doe, to Whome I commend you, and my selfe to your love, who am, Sir,

Brit. Mus. Harleian MSS. 3785. fol. 39.

Your servant,

H. T.

May 28, 1658.

SUPERSCRIBED
For Mr. Sandcroft at
Utrecht.

IX.

MR. HERBERT THORNDIKE TO MR. WILLIAM SANCROFT.

SIR,

I AM nowe, and not till nowe, come to an opinion, that I shall dispatch against Michaelmasse Terme: something that

Brit. Mus. Harleian MSS. 3785. fol. 40.

[s] See above, Letter VII., note o.

[t] Possibly the movements of the French and Spanish armies may have interfered with intercourse with Louvain; although the place is at some distance from the scene of the principal campaign of 1658, in the June of which year the siege of Dunkirk by the French was terminated by its capture, after the defeat of the Spaniards by Turenne in the battle of the Downs.

I have learnt in the mystery of those whome I deale with, makes mee beleeve it. Whither to come over then, or at Easter next, one reason there is why I cannot resolve till I have done; but it seemes not to mee of waight to detaine mee nowe, if my frinds thinke not otherwise. It is too much that you referre to mee and my ends in the choice of abode; but that must needes make mee of opinion, that wee may spend some time together to the satisfaction of both oure intentions; and that, I would have you beleeve, is the greatest attraction that I can bee tempted with. I am to reckon, that you are for the present absent from Utrecht, because such hath beene M. Honiwoods custome. If I could have writ anything materiall before, I had writ sooner. Nowe this must stay till it you may stay it [u]. Onely Mr. Beaumont [x] coming while I write, tells mee you are there, and will receive it directly. And therefore I have nothing to desire but to heare howe youre resolutions goe forward, and then about Michmasse, that you expect a full answere. With my best love and service, commending you to God, as, Sir,

Your affectionate frind to serve you,

H. THORNDIKE.

July 22, 1658.

SUPERSCRIBED

For Mr. W. S. this.

X.

MR. HERBERT THORNDIKE TO MR. WILLIAM SANCROFT.

SIR,

Brit. Mus. Harleian MSS. 3785. fol. 42.

SINCE the writing of my last I have understood by Mr. Davenport [y], that Mr. Gayer [z] intends to goe over at Michmasse, intending for Italy. I conceived thereupon, that his motion concurring with youre owne inclination, you neither

[u] So in MS.

[x] Probably Joseph Beaumont, Canon of Ely 1651, Master of Peterhouse in Cambridge in 1663, Regius Prof. of Divinity at Cambridge in 1672, died 1699. See Browne Willis, vol. ii. pp. 388, 392. He was the next successor but one to Thorndike in the living of Barley, after the Restoration (Newcourt).

[y] A short account of John and George Davenport, brothers, and both intimate friends of Sancroft, is in D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, vol. i. c. i. p. 52, note.

[z] Robert Gayer was another intimate friend of Sancroft's. See D'Oyly, ibid., c. ii. p. 95. note. He joined Sancroft in Holland in the autumn of 1658: see above in Letter VI., note y.

would nor should balke the benefit of such an opportunity. As for my selfe who can hope for no more then to conclude within the moneth of October, by Gods helpe[a], and then the difficulty for mee will bee, rather, howe I can bee ready to goe this winter, beeing so late before I can have done then, then[b] whither to goe or not. I must tell you allso, that I have understoode something since my last, which inclines mee much more towards the voyage of Italy then afore. I would not balke this opportunity of certifying you what I see further in youre businesse, because I would heare the like from you if you please. I had thought to have seene Mr. Davenport againe by this time, but unfortunately I heare hee hath beene here this afternoone, and that hee is going away, and I shall not see him. With my best love and service, commending you to God, as,

Sir, youre servant, H. T.

Sept. 10, 1658.

SUPERSCRIBED
This For Mr. W. Sandcroft
at
Utrecht.

XI.

MR. HERBERT THORNDIKE TO MR. WILLIAM SANCROFT.

SIR,

I HAVE been desirous to knowe whither you doe purpose for Italy or not, having a good mind that way, though formerly it had beene otherwise. Since my last, I have discovered the beginning of a rupture in my belly, which, though I am put in hope to find good remedy for, yet can I not thinke fit to undertake so great a iourney, before triall what I may doe. If there were nothing else (as I have showed M. H.[c] other reasons), I should hardly undertake to crosse the seas yet. I have writ you thus much, that you may bee satisfied that I have not altered my resolution upon small considerations. But, if you goe for Italy, you shall doe mee

Brit. Mus. Harleian MSS. 3785. fol. 43.

[a] So in the MS., leaving the sentence incomplete.

[b] So in the MS. The second "then" is of course "than," the word being usually so spelt at that time, in accordance indeed with its derivation.

[c] Michael Honywood, no doubt, who was still at the Hague: see Bramhall's Works, vol. iii. p. 12. Oxf. 1844.

a very great favor to certify mee of it. For I desire very much to commend unto your care the inquiring of one or two things, which I hoped to learne there. Sir, whither thither or whithersoever else you shape your course, no man wishes youre content more affectionately then,

Sir, youre affect. frind and servant,

March 31, 1658. H. T.

SUPERSCRIBED
This
For Mr. W. Sandcroft
at Utrecht.

XII.

MR. HERBERT THORNDIKE TO MR. WILLIAM SANCROFT.

Westminster, Aug. $\frac{17}{27}$, 1660.

DEARE MR. SANCROFT,

Brit. Mus. Harleian MSS.3785. fol. 44.

YOURE two first came to my hands at Cambridge this day fortnight, beeing come thither to reenter[d] and I hope to helpe to[e] resettle oure[f] College: youre last, in which Holsteniuss his list, last Saturday, beeing returned hither. So that I could answere no sooner, nor shall nowe answere so to youre contente as you have satisfied mee. For the outward face of our affaires, which I see, is not yet reducible to any shape, but seemes to consist in particulars. Manifest it is, that the Presbyterian party is at present at a great height in the Commons House, though manifestly farre the lesse, not onely by theire diligence and assiduity, and the negligence and absence of the opposite, but allso by theire importunity and audacity, which must bee counted still zele for Gods cause. The worst thing they have prevailed for, is that Presbyterian orders shall qualify for livings whose incumbents are deade[h]. But this, though fomented from the Court,

[d] Thorndike's fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge, was not vacated (except by his forcible ejection during the Usurpation) until 1667. See below in his Life for the question needlessly raised on the subject by Walker in his Sufferings of the Clergy.

[e] "helpe to," interlined in Thorndike's writing in the MS.

[f] Sancroft belonged to Emmanuel College.

[g] Lucas Holstein was at this time Librarian of the Vatican: and the "list" no doubt was of MSS. which Thorndike desired to have copied, in return for a copy or copies of the Great Polyglot Bible. Sancroft was now on his way home from Rome. Holstein died Feb. 2, 1661. See Chauffepied, Supplement to Bayle's Dictionary.

[h] See above in the Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxx. note l. The Act finally passed the Commons' House Sept. 4.

whither it will come to bee an Act by passing the lords, not yet knowne[i]. There is nowe speeche of an Archbp., the Bp. of London beeing at length come hither though infirme[k]. There is allso expectation of a Recesse of Parl.[l], when some Acts are done before which the assises cannot bee held, as that of Indemnity[m], that of Judiciall Proceedings[n], that of oure Benefices[o], and I thinke that for sale of lands[p], in which, having voted the K. and Queens to returne without recompense, they vote Bishops, deans and chapters, and private mens, to returne without recompense onely if purchased by such or such; so that in the same cause, men are not like to find the same measure. And above all there is speech of disbanding part of the army, when a Bill for Pole money[q] shall bee completed and levied to pay them off; which is, therefore, studiously delayed by those that would continue troubles. For when it is done, things may come to something [of[r]] the face which they are like to receive. For Ireland the[re are[s]] some ten Bishops nominated, and on

[i] It was read the 1st time in the House of Lords Sept. 6, passed that House, and received the Royal assent Sept. 13 (Lords' Journals).

[k] Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, was translated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury Sept. 20, 1660, by a Congé d' Elire granted Sept. 3, and election Sept. 13 (Le Neve). He had retired to Little Compton in Gloucestershire during the troubles, and died at the age of 81 in 1663 (Wood, Ath. Oxon.).

[l] This Parliament began April 25, 1660, and was dissolved December 29, in the same year. A message from the King concerning a recess was read to the H. of Lords Aug. 31, 1660 (Lords' Journals). And the Houses adjourned from Sept. 13. to November 6.

[m] An Act of Free and General Indemnity and Pardon (12 Car. II. A.D. 1660. c. 11) passed the H. of Lords and received the Royal assent August 29 (Lords' Journals).

[n] An Act for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings (12 Car. II. A.D. 1660, c. 1), passed the H. of Lords and received the Royal assent August 29 (Lords' Journals).

[o] See notes h, i.

[p] An Act for Satisfaction of Purchasers of Publick Lands, was read a second time in the House of Commons July 11, 1660; when it was resolved also, "that all the King's Majesty's possessions and Demesnes, and the Queen's jointure Lands, Rents, and Profits, be left out of the Bill," and "that it be referred to the Grand Committee, to consider how those, who are purchasers of the King's Lands and Queen's jointure, may have reasonable satisfaction." The business, however, lingered on in Committee, until upon Sept. 12. it was resolved to leave it to a Commission under the Great Seal to settle "the business of the sale of Bishops', Deans and Chapters', and other lands;" the approaching recess supplying the excuse.

[q] An Act for granting unto his Majesty four hundred and twenty thousand pounds by an assessment of threescore and ten thousand pounds by the month for six months, for disbanding the remainder of the army and paying off the navy, with a further Act for supplying defects &c. in the previous one, are cc. 27, 28 of 12 Car. II. An Act for the speedy provision of money for disbanding and paying off the forces of this kingdom both by land and sea, with a similar supplemental Act, had been previously passed, and are cc. 9, 10, of the same session.

[r] A word is here cut off in the MS. by a rent in the paper.

[s] These words are cut off by a rent in the MS.

going[t]. For there the lands were never taken away by Parliament. For Scotland a Parliament is granted, which what it may doe for Bps.[u], God knowes. The English field forces are to bee withdrawne[x]. Foure citadels and foure castles English garisons as yet hold, saving Edinbrough which Middleton shall have.

For Holstenius, there is no Bible of the Great Paper remaining, but one which Dr. Walton uses himselfe, and refuses to part with for money[y]. There is a whiter sort of Auvergne paper, which some are printed on, but rather scanter then the ordinary, of which hee may have two or one ruled with red inke, or unruled, as hee shall please[z]. When hee hath understoode this, it will be time to inquire his cleare meaninge, howe farre leave may bee hadde to copy out the peeces which his Catalogue mentions. For I have writ to Mr. Vossius to informe himself exactly what is done or in doing in France (which I allso recommend to you at youre beeing in Paris, and indeede I am told this will not find you till you bee there), and if they doe nothing, I shall goe as farre in it as I shall bee able to doe. I shall bee gladde if you can cary the mater so, that, if occasion bee, I may have addresse to write to Holstenius in the businesse. M. Honiwoode[a] is well here, G. Davenport[b] I see every day, and wee remember you wishing youre safe returne. With my best love and service, recommending you to God, as, Sir,

Youre assured friend to serve you,

H. Thorndike.

At Mr. Busbies House in the Deanes Yard in Westminster, to direct—

Superscribed

For his very worthy freind Mr. William Sandcroft.

[t] Two archbishops and ten bishops were consecrated at Dublin Jan. 27, 166⅞, Jeremy Taylor preaching the Consecration sermon: Abp. Bramhall having been translated from Derry to Armagh on the previous 18th of January. See Bramhall's Life, Ware's Works, Mason's St. Patrick's, Mant's Hist. of Ch. of Ireland.

[u] The Scotch Parliament was opened by the Earl of Middleton upon January 1, 166⅞. See Burnet's Hist. of His Own Times, Bk. ii. How far it was inclined for episcopacy, may be seen there; and the gradual steps by which that subject was introduced by Sharp and Middleton.

[x] See Burnet, ibid.

[y] See the next Letter.

[z] See ibid.

[a] See above in Letter VI., note i.

[b] See above in Letter X., note y.

XIII.

MR. HERBERT THORNDIKE TO MR. WILLIAM SANCROFT.

December 14, 1660.

Good Mr. Sandcroft,

For Holsteinius his Bibles, my advice shall be that you deale with John Tibbets at the Printing House in Charter House Yard for them[c]. He hath the keeping of my L. of Chester's[d] remains. I could be willing to sell you two, but mine are of the ordinary paper, his of paper of Auvergne, much whiter, though of the same leafe, which being ruled with redde, makes a very good showe. He tells me he hath sold them for 17 or 18£ a piece. For that use, perhaps you may have them for 16. I thinke 15 the just price for mine. For speedy copying I see no such cause as to intertaine copyists there, provided that they be tied, into the rate, to collate them with somebody that shall be sent from hence, that shall reade in the manuscript, and the copyist in the copy against him. For the copies are not justifyable till this bee done, in my conceit. And sure it will be cheaper to give their rates for transcribing, then to keep one there for that purpose; though one be sent to try them afterwards upon such charge. But now we are come thus farre, where will this charge be hadde? Now I am sorry that I had not the scumming of some good deanry this time, that might have furnished me for it. But, let us not despair, when we can see through the charge, we may perhaps find some way to beare it. I am sory I can advance you no intelligence of bookes *de propaganda* that are desireable. I pray consider whither there bee any catalogues of them printed[e]. Out of those I could presume somewhat. In the meane time the grammars and lexicons of 22 languages I should thinke a curiosity

Bodl. Tanner MSS. vol. xlix. fol. 42.

[c] See the last Letter.

[d] Seil. Brian Walton himself, consecrated in Westminster Abbey to the see of Chester Dec. 2, 1660, twelve days prior to the date of Thorndike's letter. He died Nov. 29, 1661. Le Neve.

[e] So apparently in the MS., but the writing is difficult to decipher.

worthy any Library. Hoping to bee backe the later end of the next weeke I commend you my best love and service and you to God, resting

Sir,

Your assured friend to serve you,

H. THORNDIKE[f].

XIV.

MR. HERBERT THORNDIKE TO DR. WILLIAM SANCROFT.

SIR,

Bodl. Tanner MSS. vol. xlvii. fol. 5.

I HAVE been with Mr. Godolphin[g], and professed myselfe the solicitor of your dispatch. Hee gives mee no maner of assurance for Munday, but sayes plainely, that Mr. Secretary will not present it, but upon an opportunity proportionable to the waight of the businesse. And that your stay is not adviseable. I have given you as timely notice as I could, that you may advise by what means it shall come, but cheifly, least your cheif businesse should stay upon it. Upon new matter, I shall bee ready to move again as soon as you please. I send you the Copy of my Grace[h]. I doubt onely the words *dignitatem Præbendarij*, and desire you to change it into *Præbendarij locum*, if it please not, though the other seeme more to the purpose. No more at present, but that I remain allways

Sir

Your affect. frind and humble servt: H. THORNDIKE.

April the 11*th*, 1663.

SUPERSCRIBED
For the Reverend Dr.
Sandcroft.

[f] There is no superscription to this letter; but on the back, in a different handwriting, is written as follows:—"Mr. Herb. Thornd. Dec. 14, 1660, Conc. the polyglot B. for Holstenius —Copies of Origen in Gr. from the Vatican—Gram. and Lexicons for 22 languages in the Rom. press de ppag. fide."

[g] Sidney (afterwards Earl) Godolphin was one of the grooms of the bedchamber to Charles II. in April 1663. What was Sancroft's business, does not appear. He had been made Master of Emmanuel College in August 1662, was promoted to the Deanery of York in January 166$\frac{3}{4}$, and to that of London in November 1664. See D'Oyly's Life of him, c. iii. Possibly the reference may be to the dispute existing at this time between the king's printers and those of the university, with which Sancroft was concerned (see Cooper's Annals of Cambr., vol. iii. pp. 507, 508.)

[h] See the question about Thorndike's divinity degree in 1663, and the form of grace actually passed, below in the Life.

XV.

MR. HERBERT THORNDIKE TO DR. WILLIAM SANCROFT.

April the 25th, 1663.

SIR,

I GIVE you many thankes for your respect to my little concernment. I am very willing that Mr. Vice C. abatement passe into it, and that the Orator's form stand, so it bee to Mr. Vice C. mind[i]. But for our Mr., I could be very gladde that hee might bee acquainted with it, as allso the Vice Mr., and therefore have thought best to direct this to him, which I commend to you, that if there bee cause, there may bee intelligence[j], in promoting it. If the Orator's form stand, there is one word, in my opinion, must bee changed. For it is having no degree in divinity, and not the cheif, that makes mee uncapable of these offices[k]. Therefore it must bee *ad nullum in Th. gradum*. But I am secure in you, that have so much kindnesse for mee, and doe commend myselfe and my businesse to you, whome I commend to God with a good hart, and rest, Sir,

Bodl. Tanner MSS. vol. xlvii. fol. 10.

Your affect: frind and humble
Servant, H. THORNDIKE.

I must desire your trouble to inclose the Grace in this to our Mr., unlesse you have opportunity to see him.

SUPERSCRIBED
For the Reverend his much Honored friend Dr. Sandcroft
Mr. of Emmanuel College in
Cambridge post pd 4*d*.

See below in the Life. The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge in 1662, 3, was Edward Rainbow, S.T.P., Master of Magdalen College. The Public Orator at that time was Ralph Widdrington, A.M., senior fellow of Christ's College. The Master of Trinity College was the celebrated Dr. John Pearson, afterwards bishop of Chester. The Vice-Master appears to have been Dr. Duport, elected to that office Oct. 1, 1660.

[j] So apparently in the MS.

[k] i. e. the college offices of Vice-Master and Senior Dean, which by the college statutes must be filled by a B.D. at the least. See below in the Life. Thorndike was still fellow of Trinity College.

XVI.

MR. HERBERT THORNDIKE TO DR. LIGHTFOOT[k].

REVEREND SIR,

Brit. Mus. Lansd. MSS. II. 1055: Strype's Collections for Life of Dr. Lightfoot.

THE esteeme that I have of your skill in the Jewes writings, caries mee to press further upon you, then courtesy allows mee; to get from you the summe of your judgment, concerning Morinus his Exercitation of them, in the Second Book of his *Exercitationes Biblicæ*. One thing I think hee hath hit the truth in, of the originall of the Karæi, and the difference between them and the Sadduces and Samaritanes: which seems to point at the time when the Talmud was received. Another thing which all doe find, hee hath labored in more than others, to show the gross ignorance of the Jews in the History even of their own affairs. And I doe confess, I doe not see how it can bee maintained, that their books were indeed written by those whome they make the authors of them. I would except the Talmud. For the Misna must needs bee as anciently written as is pretended, by the very stile of it, beeing so roundly and so elegantly couched. Though his arguments seem to conclude, that it could not bee in publick authority so soone. And the like may bee said of the Gemara. But whereas his opinion seems to tend to deprive us of the use and benefit of their books, by taking away the authority and credit of them, that have done Christianity so much service by illustrating the Scriptures; I doe think with my selfe upon what grounds so ill a consequence may be resisted and defeated. And thus much I think may appear; that, so long as wee have the Bookes of the New Testament, the Greek Translation of the Old, the Apocrypha, Josephus and Philo, wee doe not want a test for those things, which are found to agree with them, in the Jewes writings, and by that agreement, to settle us in the intent and meaning of them. And thus farr, it is no preiudice to the authority of that which we read in them, that wee doe not know the authors of them. For this agreement assures us, that those

[k] See Dr. Bright's Life of Dr. Lightfoot prefixed to Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. p. xxii. (edited by Strype and Bright jointly in 1684). The original is in Strype's Collections for the purpose, as above in the margin. The second Part of Morinus' Exercitationes Biblicæ ("quæ explicat quicquid Judæi in Hebræi textus criticen hactenus elaborarunt, Talmudis utriusque, paraphrasum Chaldaicarum," &c., "ætatem examinat" &c.) was published at Paris in 1660.

things which they write were in force and practice in those times, whereof wee read in others of unquestionable credit; and therfore informs us of the meaning of the Scriptures, by the agreement mentioned. But further then this, what credit wee owe them, I would gladly hear what your great skill will inform us. I confess, I am so well satisfied with this, that I doe not see that more is necessary. For I reckon, that the Jews of this time are all of them the offspring of the Phariseses: and as wee know, that, during the times of the New Testament, that sect had the vogue, so wee know, that it had not the publick power, which the Talmud supposeth it to haue, and which it hath over them that own it, by virtue of their owning it; but could not have, when other sects besides their own subsisted. And hereupon I gather, that great changes must needs haue succeeded, in the discipline of that sect, from that which was during the time of those writings by which they are to bee tried. And therefore, that it will require iudgment, to discern, what was in force in those times, and what hath accrued. And having so laid open my guesses to you, I hope you will return mee your thoughts of that book, and of the exceptions you make to the position it delivers; which I would so much the rather hear as I doe think they come from greatly[1] skill. For I am a stranger to the whole study for allmost these sixe years (when I was best able to iudge, and did hope to bee better informed), by reason of my indisposition, forbidding to meddle with books at all, unless it bee very sparingly. Sir, I doe earnestly intreat you to excuse this importunity, and to beleeve, that I shall very thankfully receiue what you will bee pleased to return, to

Sir

Your very humble servant in our Lord

HERBERT THORNDIKE.

from the little Cloyster at Westminster, May 18th, 1669.

SUPERSCRIBED
For the Reverend Doctor
Lightfoot at little Munden
in Hartfordshire
One Laurence at the Golden
Lion without Bishopsgate
caries to much Munden.

[1] So in the MS.

XVII.

MR. HERBERT THORNDIKE TO DR. WILLIAM SANCROFT.

SIR,

Bodl. Tanner MSS. vol. xliv. fol. 247.

MR. ARCHER that delivers you this, hath been exercised diverse years, in Dr. Gibbes his Cure at Stamford Rivers in Essex[m]. There I have known him, a man of a blameless life, of very good capacity in learning, an extraordinary dexterity of wit, and for conformity in religion, as the times now goe, more then ordinary. I bring his request unto you, for a presentation to the Vicarage of High Eastere, of your patronage[n]. And I hope you do not mervail, that I take upon mee to doe it, having no more interest in you, then I can pretend to. Our good friend Dr. Thurscross[o] joins with mee in the request. And you will make diverse Friends gladd in doing it. But when all is said, my hope is, that you will find it a thing fitt for you to doe. And then I know your goodness will be pleased in their content. Praying your excuse for this boldness, I commend you heartily to God's goodness, and rest

Sir
Your affectionate friend and
humble servant in Christ
HERBERT THORNDIKE.

Westminster,
March 22, 167$\frac{1}{2}$.

[m] Dr. Charles Gibbs was installed Prebendary of Westminster May 21, 1662, was presented to the Rectory of Stamford Rivers April 30, 1661, by the Crown, and died Sept. 16, 1681. Newcourt, Repertor., vol. i. pp. 921, 922: Le Neve: Wood, Athen. Oxon. He was one of the witnesses to Thorndike's Will; see below.

[n] Benjamin Archer was presented by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to the vicarage of High Easter on March 31, 1671, upon the death of Timothy Clay (Newcourt, Repertor., vol. ii. p. 233).

[o] Dr. Timothy Thurscross had been fellow of Magd. Coll., Cambridge, was Archdeacon of Cleveland 1635—1638, and Prebendary of York 1622 to 1671, in which last year he died, "in November or thereabouts" (Wood, Fasti Oxon. an. 1622). See Le Neve and Browne Willis, and a note to Barwick's Life of Barwick, tr. by Bedford, p. 339. 8vo. 1724. See also below, in the Life, the account of the mandate for Thorndike's divinity degree in 1663, in which Thurscross was included.

XVIII.

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF HERBERT THORNDIKE[p].

Extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

In the Name of God Father Sonne and H. Ghost Amen. I Herbert Thorndike prebend of Westminster ordaining this my last Will and Testament Doe first comẽnd my Soule to God through the meritts of Christ according to the Faith of His Catholick Church; in the profession whereof as I hope I live soe I resolve by His Grace to die, continueing in the Communion of this Church of England as hopeing for Salvation by vertue of that wherein it agreeth with the primitive Catholick Church; but earnestly praying that the reformation thereof may be perfected according to the same in all poynts soe farr as the present state thereof shall allowe. And I hereby testifie that I continue in the opinion which I haue published concerning the reason and measure of the Reformation thereof, begging pardon of God for the errors which I maye have committed in seekeing and asserting the same or in adventuring to iudge of things to high for me.

As for my bodie I charge my Executor to burie it betweene Doctor Nurse[q] and my Brother John Thornedike[r] in the way from my lodgeing to the Church, without any solemnitie of Funerall, only by the ordinarie Service; the Deane and Prebends Rings of Fortie and Twentie shillings, the Quire Ordinarie Duties; and to write these words upon my Grauestone —*Hic jacet Corpus Herbertj Thornedike Prebendarij hujus Ecclesiæ Qui vivus veram Reformandæ Ecclesiæ rationem ac modum precibusque studijsque prosequebatur. Tu, Lector, requiem ej et beatam in Christo Resurrectionem precare.*

[p] There is an abstract of this will in White Kennet's MS. Collections in the Bibl. Lansdowniana, num. 938. vol. iv. 8vo., folio 1. a, 2. a, in the British Museum; and another, taken from Kennet, in the Harleian MSS. vol. 7048. pp. 359, 360; and in Baker's MSS. vol. xx. no. 39 (see the Catal. of Baker's MSS. at the end of Master's Life of Baker, p. 28). Kennet (Case of Impropriations and Augment. of Vicarages, pp. 285—287, 8vo. Lond. 1704) has printed the provisions of the will which respect Church property, adding in a note, that "the more pity that any part of this charity should be defeated, by the ill management of it."

[q] Thomas Nurse, M.D., died in 1669, and lies buried next to Thorndike (Dart's Westminster, vol. ii. p. 126).

[r] "Mr. Thorndyke brother to the Prebend, buried 3 Nov. 1668." Reg. of Burials in Westm. Abbey, printed in Nichols' Collect. Topogr., vol. viii. p. 17. "Mr. Herbert Thorndyke, one of the prebendaries, buried at the east end of the cloyster next his brother, 13 July 1672." Ibid. p. 18. See below in the Life.

Item I give and bequeath vnto the Right Reverend Father John Lord Bishopp of Rochester[s] Deane of Westminster Church, And vnto Doctor John Fell Deane of Xt̃ Church in Oxford, And vnto Doctor John Pearson Master of Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge, my Lease of the Tithes and Parsonage of Trumpinton neare Cambridge[t], upon trust and confidence— First that when anie one of them shall die or leaue the place of Deane of Westminster, Deane of Xt̃ Church, or Master of Trinitie Colledge, the other two shall take vnto them into the same trust the Successor of the Third being dead or haueing left the place. Secondly that they shall giue and allowe to the Vicar the profitts of the Lease ouer and aboue all rents and payments reserved to the Colledge for soe long time as he shall continue liueing and dwelling upon the Cure: takeing securitie of him suche as they shall thinke reasonable, as well for the payment of all that is reserved to the Colledge, as alsoe for the makeing upp the summe of twentie yeares (for which the Leases of that Colledge are lett) those yeares that shall not be expired when he shall leaue the place or shall noe longer continue liueing or dwelling uppon the Cure. And I doe give them the remainder of the profitts of the

[s] John Dolben, D.D., of Ch. Ch., Oxon.

[t] The following extracts relative to the leases of Trumpington Rectory are from the official book, belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge, in which such entries are made. They are in Pearson's handwriting.

"Jan. 3. 1664" [i. e. 1665]. "Agreed by the Master and Seniors y^t a Lease of Trumpington Rectory be made to Mr. Thorndike or to his Trustee for the term of 18½ years to commence from our Lady day next, he paying then for Fine and sealing £630. Provided that it shall be at his choice upon paying ye money either to receive a Lease seal'd, or to take security of the College for ye money and to have ye Lease seal'd at any time betweene that and Michaelmas in the yeere 1666. At wch time it is also agreed by us for ye same fine to make him a lease in being for 20 yeeres commencing from the said Michaelmas 1666, and to assist him, so farre as lawfully wee may, against all disadvantages by Enclosure.

Jo. Pearson."

"April 11. 1665. Agreed then by the Master and Seniors that a Lease of Trumpington Rectory be sealed to Sir John Coel Master of ye Chancery and Mr. Antony Hinton Apothecary for 19½ yeeres commencing from our Lady day last past: and y^t ye reserved rent for ye three first halfe yeeres be pardon'd. And that upon surrender of this said Lease, a Lease for 20 yeeres be seal'd for Mr. Thorndike's use at the Audit which shall be in ye yeere 1666, commencing from Michaelmas preceding, according to ye Conclusion made Jan. 3. 1664, and that wee shall assist him against Enclosures, according to ye said Conclusion.

John Pearson."

In the Lease Book of the College there are 2 Leases of Trumpington Rectory: one dated Apr. 18, 1665, to John Coel, Esq. and Ant. Hinton for 19½ years from Lady day preceding; the other dated June 4, 1667, to Sir John Coel and Ant. Hinton for 20 years from Michaelmas preceding. See also Carter's History of Cambridgeshire, under the head of Trumpington.

parsonage in the hands of the parishioners, or of the present Vicar Master Coppinger[u], or due from them or that may growe due from them, Only to the summe that the Colledge shall take for the renueing of the Lease. And my Will is that Master Raymond be abated the nyne pound of the nyne and thirtie which he hath secured to me. For my intent is that therewith they may renue the yeares and soe renued giue vnto the Vicars hands that shall be soe resident upon the cure, and dwelling upon the place. And my humble suite to the Colledge is (And I doe conjure these my trustees as they tender the good of Soules to commend it to the Colledge) That after my death they will accept of an increase of Rent answerable to the fine yearlie to be paid by the Vicar inioying the profitts of ye lease, According to the custome in vse in Saint Marie Magdalen's Colledge in Oxford; and because fourescore poundes a yeare is at this tyme the full value of the profitts, aboue the rents now issueing, my sute is that they will accept of Ten poundes a yeare in leiue of a Fine, That soe when a Vicar dies, his Successors being contente to be soe resident may enter into the profitts of the lease without further renueing of it. Lastlie in trust, that if a Vicar be put in by the Colledge that will not or cannot liue vpon the cure and dwell there, or if they shall finde that the provision here made will not be effectuall in Lawe after the death of the present Vicar or to tye him to secure that which is here required (namelie because Deanes and Chapters or Colledges the heads whereof are hereby trusted shall be taken away), that then they shall sell the same as soone as convenientlie they can for the best price they can gett for the same and dispose of the money ariseing by such sale and of the rents and profitts thereof vntill such sale to those good vses which they shall thinke most charitable, trusting that they will see this done.

Item I giue vnto my honored Freind Sir John Coel[v] of

[u] "25 April 1674 Mr. Thos. Copinger, minister of Trumpington, died." MS. Diary of Alderman Newton, preserved in Downing College Cambridge. He was M.A. of Trinity College Cambridge in 1626, but neither scholar nor fellow of the College. (This and the last note are from information communicated by the Rev. J. Edleston, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.) Thorndike's eldest brother married Margaret Coppinger; see below in the pedigree appended to the Life.

[v] Sir John Coel, one of the masters in chancery, of Depden in Suffolk, appears (probably) as one of the Knights of the Royal Oak, created in 1660. So Collins' English Baronetage, vol. iii. p. 371. See also note t, above.

Lincolnes Inne in the Countie of Middlesex Knight, And to my louing Cousin Charles Ashfordby[w] Clerk, and their heires, my Parsonage of Great Carleton in the Countie of Lincolne; In trust that they shall see it setled upon the Vicaridge there accordinge to lawe and by such waies and meanes as the same may best be done, that the Vicar and his Successors may enioy the same and that the patronage thereof may be setled upon the Deane and Chapter of the Churche of Lincolne and their Successors for ever. But if it should happen (which God forbidd) that Deanes and Chapters should be taken awaye by the lawe of the Land, then my Will is that the Right of Presentation to this Vicaridge be setled vpon the Master of Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge for the tyme beinge till the Deanarie and Chapter of the Church of Lincolne be restored by the lawe of this land.

Item I give to my respectiue freinds mentioned in a list hereto annexed the respectiue bookes to them therein assigned:—Inprimis to the Librarie of this Church if I die Prebend my complete Atlas of Eleaven volumes together with the Theatrum Urbium of Cullen in six tomes bound in three Volumes. Item to Sir Phillipp Warwick[x], Codex Theodosianus Gothofredi fower volumes. Item to Doctor Busby[y], S. Cyrrills workes in Seaven Volumes in folio Greeke and Latine at Paris, together with my Telescope. To Master Oley[z], Annales Ecclesiastici Angliæ in Fower Volumes. To Sir Tho. Wendy[a], Ramusio his Voyages in three folio Volumes Italian. To Sir John Marsham, Annales Eccle-

[w] He was the next successor but one to Thorndike in his prebend in Lincoln Cathedral, being presented to it in 1660; and was afterwards vicar of Cranford in Middlesex (Br. Willis, Newcourt).

[x] Sir P. Warwick was son of the organist of Westminster Abbey, born 1609, died 1682. See an account of him in Wood's Fasti Oxon. in an. 1638, and Bliss's notes there.

[y] Busby's mastership of Westminster School dates from 1640, his prebend there from 1660. He died in 1695. Wood's Ath. Oxon., Newcourt.

[z] Barnabas Oley, M. A., was the friend of Dr. Thomas Jackson and of George Herbert, and the editor of the works of the former, and of the Country Parson of the latter. He was fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, served the office of Proctor in 1635, was made at the Restoration prebendary of Worcester and of Ely, and archdeacon of Ely, and died in 1685. He conveyed the University and college plate to Charles I. at the beginning of the Rebellion, at the risk of his life. Le Neve, Browne Willis, Wood's Ath. Oxon., and Zouch's edition of Iz. Walton's Life of G. Herbert, pp. 363, 364, note u.

[a] Sir T. Wendy, Knight of the Bath, and M.P. for Cambridgeshire from 1660 until his death in 1673 (Cooper's Annals of Cambr., vol. iii. pp. 476, 557), was one of the contributors to the expense of the Polyglot Bible (see its Preface), and to Castell's Lexicon Heptaglotton in 1669. He is mentioned by Wood as a "curious collector of choice books," which he left to Balliol College, of which he had been a gentleman commoner.

siastici Franciæ le Cointe[b], two folio Volumes now three. To Sir Justinian Isham[c], Two Volumes of the Ecclesiasticall History Greeke and Latine by Valesius. To Doctor Creighton Deane of Wells now Bishopp of Bath and Wells[d], the Rabboth[e], one little folio in Hebrewe at Amsterdam. To Doctor Honiwood, Deane of Lincolne, Hadriani Valesij rerum Francicarum three folio Volumes. To Master Smethick, Almagestum novum one thick Volume. To Doctor Gunning[f] now Lord Bishopp of Chichester the rest of the rude draught of my Writeings in latine aboue that which is now printed[g], together with extractions out of the Fathers and others tending to the same purpose in two Quarto Bookes, taken in such hast, that I am sorrie there will noe vse be made of them. All these are couered with pastboards, but I forbidd anie p̄te of them to be printed vnlesse it please God I liue to giue further order for it[h].

Item I giue all my lands at the Three Carletons not hereby formerlie disposed of vnto my Cousin Buckley and his heires for the vse and benefitt of his Wife and children by this Wife; subject notwithstanding to the charges and payments appointed and given by my brother Francis Thorndike in and by his last Will and Testament, and likewise subject to the payment of ye sum of Three hundred pounds to my two Neeces Alice and Martha Thorndike equally to be devided betwixt them within one yeare next

[b] The work was published ultimately in *eight* volumes, 1665—83: of which three must have appeared when this will was executed, and two only when it was drawn up.

[c] For Sir J. Isham of Lamport, Bart., see Collins' Engl. Baronetage, vol. ii. pp. 40—42. He died in 1674.

[d] Robert Creighton was an old college contemporary of Thorndike's, having been a Westminster scholar of Trin Coll., Cambridge, fellow of the college Oct. 1, 1619, major fellow March 16, 1620. He succeeded Herbert as Public Orator in 1627: was made Dean of Wells in 1660, Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1670, and died the same year with Thorndike, viz., 1672. Wood's Fasti, Browne Willis, Le Neve, Walker's Sufferings, and Zouch's edition of Iz. Walton's Life of G. Herbert, p. 353, note c.

[e] Liber רבות Rabboth in Legem tantum, folio, Amsterdam, 1641.

[f] Peter Gunning held the see of Chichester from 1669 to 1674, when he was translated to Ely.

[g] The folio volume entitled De Ratione ac Jure Finiendi Controversias Ecclesiæ, published by Thorndike in 1670, was part of a revised and rewritten translation of the Epilogue; and was published by itself because advancing years caused the writer to anticipate that he should not live to finish the undertaking (see the Preface to that volume). The preparations for the remainder, mentioned above, have not been preserved.

[h] None of these books remain among Thorndike's MSS. in the Chapter Library at Westminster. Whatever passed into Gunning's hands, it would appear that he destroyed, in accordance with the directions above given.

after my decease. And I doe giue my said Neeces twentie shillings *nomine pœnæ* for euery moneth that those three hundreth pounds shall be vnpaid after the tyme limited. And I give my Neece Allington Two hundred sixtie sixe pounds thirteene shillings and fower pence to bee paide her within a yeere after the death of my Sister Bolt[i] and the ceasing of the fortie pounds a yeare which shee nowe enioyeth, and thirty three pounds six shillings and eight pence more to be paid her a yeare after the death of Mistriss Douglas Terwhit[j] and the ceasing of the fiue pound a yeare which she now enioyeth by my Brothers Will; Provided that he my Cousin Buckley secure my trustees for ye Scamblesby Lands that the fortie pound a yeare and fiue pound a yeare be duelie paid out of the Carleton Lands and the Scamblesby Lands not troubled for them. And if my said Neece die before she be eighteene yeares old or before her Marriage, then the said summes to goe to my said Cousin Buckley. But my Will is, that if my said Neeces or either of them shall retourne to New England after my decease[k] or shall marrie with anie that goes to Masse or anie of the new licensed Conventicles, then whatsoeuer is giuen them by this my Will exceeding the Fower hundred pounds which I haue absolutely giuen them by Deed shall be voyd and not due, soe that when either or both of them shall be married here to such as sincerely cleaue to the Church of England Then the payment to be made; In the meane time my Cousin Buckley furnishing theire maintenance out of the profitts of the said Three hundreth and the said Fower hundreth pounds which I haue alreadie absolutelie secured vnto them upon his Estate, com-

[i] Mrs. Bolt, as appears by the will of Herbert Thorndike's eldest brother Francis, compared with Herbert's own will, was Ann widow of Francis, who must have married a Mr. Bolt after the death of Francis in 1656.

[j] Mrs. Douglas Tyrwhitt of Gayton in the Wold gave 10s. yearly to the poor of Horncastle, Dec. 13, 1703. See Weir's Sketch of Horncastle and the Places Adjacent, p. 33. 4to. 1820. She was the maiden daughter of an old Lincolnshire family at Cummeringham, and was born in 1597 (from information communicated by Lord Monson).

[k] Thorndike's anxiety is explained by the following entry in the Register of Baptisms at Westminster Abbey (in Nichols, Collect. Topogr., vol. vii. p. 245)—"Alice and Martha Thorndyke, *of ripe years*, related to Mr. Thorndyke, Preb^d^. of the Ch., baptized Apr. 10. 1669;"—they being part of a brother's family who had spent most of his life in New England, and having no doubt been born there. See below in the Life and Pedigree. The "conventicles" were those licensed under the recent Declaration by the King "for Liberty of Conscience," March 15, 167¼.

mitting the ouersighte hereof to theire louing Cousin Charles Ashfordby, To whom I giue power, if at anie time he be satisfied that they haue noe intente to retourne but to marrie as aboue is required, to see theire said portions paid them whether married or unmarried finding it for theire benefitt.

Whereas my Brother Francis Thorndyke by his last Will and Testament hath for want of issue male of the bodie of his daughter Anne Thornedike devised all his lands and tenements in Scamblesby and the three Carletons to mee and the heires males of my bodie with severall remainders ouer, and hath further devised that if his said lands doe for wante of issue male of the bodie of his said daughter remaine or come to mee the said Herbert Thorndike or to the other persons in Remainder and if his daughter doe onely leaue issue female, Then he to whome his said landes should soe remaine or come should pay vnto such issue female (if but one) the summe of One thousand pounds to be paid when she shall attaine the age of eighteene yeares or daye of marriage which shall first happen and in the meane time the interest thereof to goe towards her education; And Whereas the said Anne Thornedike is dead without issue male and hath left only one daughter namely Anne Allington: In performance therefore of the said Will I giue to Will Sancroft Clke Doctor in Divinitie and Deane of Sainte Paules Churche London and to my loueinge Cousin Charles Newcomen[1] of Bag-Enderby in the Countie of Lincolne and theire heires all my lands tenements and hereditaments in Scamblesby in the said Countie of Lincolne, Vpon trust and confidence, that they pay to my said Niece Anne Allington the summe of One thousand pounds when she shall attaine the age of Eighteene years or on the day of her marriage which shall first happen and in the meane time shall pay to her and to Hugh Allington Esquire her Father the summe of sixtie pounds per annum towards her education; And upon further trust and confidence, that after the said thousand pounds is paid they found a perpetuall Vickaridge in the Church of Scamblesby aforesaid by procureing if it maye be an Act of Parliament to that purpose or otherwise as it maye by lawe be done, and

[1] Joan Thorndike, an aunt of the prebendary, was married to Charles Newcomen. The Charles here mentioned was probably the son of Samuel, son of Charles and Joan, and born in 1630. See the pedigree of the Thorndikes, below in the Life. Bag-Enderby is near Spilsby, in Lindsey.

settle the Fee simple of the said landes vpon the Vicar and his Successors and the patronage of the Vicaridge vpon the Deane and Chapter of the Cathedrall Church of Lincolne[m]. But if a Vicaridge can not be founded, Then vppon trust that they the said William Sancroft and Charles Newcomen doe permitt and suffer such persons as from time to time by the nomination and appoyntment of the said Deane and Chapter shall serue the cure at Scamblesby to receive the rents issues and profitts of the said lands, And upon further trust that if it shall happen (which God forbidd) that Deanes and Chapters should be taken away by the Lawe of the Lande, then that they settle the right of presentation to the Vicaridge or right of nomination to the Curacie (if a Vicaridge can not be erected) upon the Master of Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge for the time being till the Deanarie and Chapter of the Church of Lincoln be restored by the lawe of the lande. And to enable them to pay the said thousand pounds I giue them the said William Sancroft and Charles Newcomen fiue hundred pounds due to mee from the Chamber of the Cittie of London vppon theire Bond to Master John Needham which he declared to bee in trust for mee and for my money and what interest shall be due for the same at the time of my death, together with the Remainder of the Edition of my latine books[n] which my Servant John Gee shall deliver them at my death; and my Will is, that those monies and bookes turned into monies be soe imployed that by the time my said Neece Anne Allington shall attaine the age of Eighteene yeares they may amount to the Thousand pounds, the overplus (if anie be) to be imployed to

[m] "A° 1693, 19 Dec. A petition of Nic. Smith Cl: curate of Scamblesby in Lincolnshire, setting forth, that Herbert Thorndike D.D. did by his will leave in the hands of Dr. Sandcroft some money and an impression of Latin books, to be made up 1000£., for the augmenting the curacy of Scamblesby: that in March 1677 Dr. Sandcroft sold the said books, the amount whereof with said money came to 800£., which he paid into the Chamber of London, and took bond for securing the same with interest, which remains all unpaid: and praying equal relief with the city orphans; Ordered that it be referred to a Committee of the whole House," &c. Journ. of H. of Commons (quoted by Cole, MS. Collections for Athen. Cantabr., art. H. Thorndike, Harl. MSS. vol. 5882). It appears therefore, that Thorndike's kind intentions towards his father's parish were frustrated by the same proceedings on the part of Charles II. and of the city of London, which had swallowed up the orphans' fund belonging to the city. See also Kennet's remark in 1704, quoted above in p. 143, note p.

[n] His Latin book (see above in note g) was accordingly re-issued with a new title &c. in 1674, and sold in 1677. See the last note, and below in the account of Thorndike's works appended to his Life.

the discharge of what shall be expended in the founding the said intended Vicaridge and setling the landes and vpon what charitable vses they please. And my Will is, that in anie case the said William Sancroft and Charles Newcomen shall reimburse themselves what they shall expend touching the execution of this trust out of the profitts of the said Lands before they convay them to the Vicar. And if it shall happen the said Anne Allington to die unmarried before she shall accomplish the age of Eighteene yeares, Then my Will is, that the money and bookes before giuen to my said two trustees and the profitts ariseing therefrom be imployed thence forth or laid out and setled (as well as the Lands) for the further endowment of the said Vicaridge of Scamblesby soe to be erected as aforesaid and to noe other vse whatsoeuer. But if my said Neece shall marrie before she attaine the age of eighteene yeares and before the said Five hundred pounds and Bookes shall be improued to One thowsand pounds, my Will is, that she shall receive onely sixtie pounds per annum vntil the said summe of One thousand pounds be made compleate and in the meane time the Vicaridge not to be founded.

And Whereas I have prouided that my Cousin Buckly to whome I leaue my lands at the three Carletons secure these my trustees that these lands at Scamblesby shall not be troubled for the payment of the Fortie pounds a yeare and the fiue pound a yeare issueing to Mistris Bolt and Mistris Terwhit, My Will is, that these my trustees have power to recouer of him whatsoeuer they can be damnifyed by that trouble. And My Will is, that these my trustees denie him not the sight of the Fine and recovery leauied by mee to enable mee to dispose of these lands by Will.

Item in liewe of the halfe of my goods and debts I giue my said Neeces Two hundred poundes to bee paid them within halfe a yeare after my death together with the household stuffe of the Chamber where they lie in my House in the Little Cloysters at Westminster but vnder the same condition as afore. And my Will is, that the Elder of them Alice shall haue three p̃tes of this summe One hundred fiftie pounds, the younger Martha onely the fourth part fiftie poundes; And that if either of them die before the other be married her whole portion goe to her Sister surviving.

Item I giue my Chalice and Patin to Trumpinton Church together with Fiftie shillings to the poore of the parish. Item I give twentie pounds to the poore of Westminster Libertie to be disposed of by the Deane and Chapter. Item I giue the Servant Maide in my house fiue pounds. Item I giue to my honored Freind Sir John Coell twentie pounds and to my louing freind Anthonie Hinton[o] Apothecarie and Cittizen of London Tenn pounds in acknowledgment of all theire kindnes and good offices; and to my Cousin Thornedike Coach Maker and to his Mother fiue pounds apeece if aliue at my death; And to Mistris Bale and to my Servant John Gee fortie pounds apeece to bee paide within sixe moneths after my death; To my Cousin Charles Asfordby twentie pounds.

Lastlie I make my Cousin Buckly Executor of this my Will, and my much respected freind to whome I stand soe deeply obleiged Doctor Busby Supervisor of it, with a Ring of fiue pounds for his care in it.

HERBERT THORNDIKE.

Signed Sealed and Declared to be my last Will and Testament July the third One thousand sixe hundred seaventie two in the presence of

RI: BUSBY ROBERT MURIELL[q]
CHARLES GIBBES[p] JOHN GEE.

PROBATUM fuit huiusmodi testamentum apud London coram venerabili viro Kenelmo Digby Legum Doctore Surrogato Venerabilis et egregij viri Domini Leolini Jenkins Militis Legum etiam Doctoris, curiæ Prerogativæ Cantuariensis Magistri Custodis sive Commissarij legitime constituti, decimo quinto die mensis Julij Anno Domini Millesimo sexcentesimo septuagesimo secundo, juramento Edwardi Buckley Executoris in huiꝰmoi Testamento nominati, Cui commissa fuit administratio omnium et singulorum bonorum jurium et creditorum dicti defuncti de bene ac fideliter administrand eadem ad sancta Dei Evangelia in debita Juris forma jurat:

CHARLES DYNELY, JOHN IGGULDEN, W. E. GOSTLING } Deputy Registers.

[o] W. Bell preached a Sermon at the Funeral of Mr. Anth. Hinton, late treasurer of S. Bartholomew's Hospital, 15 Sept. 1678, at S. Sepulchre's (Lond. 4to. 1679). So Wood, A. O., vol. iv. col. 95.

[p] See above, p. 142, note m.

[q] Robert Muriell, possibly the same person, was one of the aldermen of Cambridge replaced at the Restoration. See Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, vol. iii. pp. 503, 552, 570, 575. Several members of the family graduated at Cambridge at the end of the century.

THE LIFE

OF

HERBERT THORNDIKE, M.A.,

SOMETIME FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND PREBENDARY OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST. PETER'S, WESTMINSTER.

BY

ARTHUR W. HADDAN, B.D.

THE writer of the following Life desires to express his thanks for valuable assistance in his labours, to Lord Monson, whose large collections for a Lincolnshire County History were liberally and courteously placed at his service; to the Rev. Joseph Power, Librarian of the Cambridge University Library, the Rev. Joseph Romilly, Registrary of Cambridge University, the Rev. George Williams, Fellow of King's and Warden of St. Columba's College, and to the Rev. Francis Martin, and in particular the Rev. Joseph Edleston, Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, for much interesting information respecting Thorndike's Collegiate history: to the Rev. Frederick Pretyman, Vicar of Great Carlton, the Rev. Dr. Badcock, Rector of Little and Castle Carltons, the Rev. J. D. Giles, Rector of Belleau cum Aby, the Rev. C. A. Alington, Rector of Muckton cum Burwell, and the Rev. Thomas White, Curate of Scamblesby, for kind assistance in procuring information respecting Thorndike's birth-place and connections; to the Rev. R. A. Gordon, Rector of Barley in Herts, for information respecting Thorndike's incumbency of that parish; to Mr. Burder, who kindly searched the records of the see of Ely for the entry of Thorndike's ordinations, unfortunately without success; and to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and the Trustees of the British Museum, for the use of Thorndike's MS. tracts, and letters, respectively in their possession. His thanks are due also to Dr. Bandinel, and to Mr. Coxe, of the Bodleian Library: and not the less so, that the courtesy and ready assistance he has invariably received from them are given alike to all who have occasion to ask their services.

Trin. Coll. Oxford.
Jan. 5, 1855.

LIFE OF HERBERT THORNDIKE.

Introduction.

THE fame of Herbert Thorndike has scarcely equalled the anticipations of the fellow-collegian, whose classical (one can hardly say Christian) verses lamented his death[a]. While his friend and brother Orientalist, Pocock, who if a greater linguist, was a less able divine, obtained an editor and a biographer a century since, and has survived throughout in general reputation; the profound theological writings of the contemporary Cambridge scholar, notwithstanding their solid value, were a short time back known to few beyond the well-read theologian; his very name was almost forgotten even by divines[b]; and his life has remained unwritten[c], although connected with one of the greatest literary achievements of English theological scholarship, and

[a] See Duport's Latin Iambics, in note D, subjoined to this Life.

[b] It does not speak much for the learning of English clergy thirty years since, that such a man as Bishop Heber should naively avow entire ignorance of Thorndike, while nevertheless taking upon him to slight his writings (note cc. to his Life of Jeremy Taylor). Evidently he had first met with his name in Taylor's letters to Evelyn (first published in his own Life of Taylor). The respectful allusion to Thorndike, made by a greater divine than Heber, Dr. Routh, writing much about the same time, may serve to counteract the Bishop's neglect. See the Reliquiæ Sacræ, quoted above in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 54. note u.

[c] An article in Nichols' History of Leicestershire (vol. iv. pp. 133, 134) is the fullest and best account of Thorndike hitherto published. It is however brief and incomplete, and in some points inaccurate. Twells in his Life of Pocock (prefixed to Pocock's Works, 1740, and republished separately, with some other Lives, in 1816), supplies some exact and curious information (but with a few mistakes intermixed): to which Todd, in his Life of Bryan Walton (Lond. 1821), has made a few additions. A very imperfect article in the English Bayle (1739), is the chief authority for an equally imperfect article in Chalmers. And there is an article still more imperfect in Chauffepied's Supplement to Bayle. Moreri, and Collier, have each but a few lines: although the latter might have been expected to take an interest in a divine of Thorndike's school, especially one, of whose writings such free use had been made in the Nonjuring disputes. Walker, in his Sufferings of the Clergy (folio, 1714), mentions a few facts about Thorndike, but is principally occupied in (erroneously) explaining a difficulty of his own making respecting him. Lastly, there is a paragraph in Carter's Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge; and a note containing some information in Crossley's edition of Worthington's Diary for the Cheetham Society (vol. i. pp. 315, 316): and Cole's MSS. in the British Museum have added a few references to those which the present writer had previously collected. In the Biographia Britannica and in the Biographie Universelle the name is wholly omitted. A volume of Fulman's MSS. in the Library of C. C. C., Oxford (num. cccvii.) contains a few memoranda.

weight. The neglect indeed into which his writings fell, is confined to that comparatively recent period, when theological learning in general was at a low ebb amongst us. His contemporaries[e] were not slow to acknowledge the profound learning, which became almost an epithet of his name[f]: as much so as the judiciousness of Hooker, or the scholastic titles of earlier times. Nor is it a small tribute to his powers, that Barrow[g] and Henry More[h], the former his intimate friend at the time and until his death, held his positions of sufficient importance to demand an elaborate answer at their hands where they disagreed with them. And English divines in general, from Bull[i], and the elder Sherlock[j], and Cave[k], to Hickes[l],

[e] See e. g. H. L' Estrange's Divine Alliance, cc. iv., vi., vii., ix. (pp. 140, 264, 318, 393. Oxf. 1846): Gunning, On the Lent Fast, Appendix, c. v. (p. 217. Oxf. 1845); Fuller in his Hist. of the University of Cambr., sect. vii. § 21. (p. 238. ed. Prickett and Wright): respectively in 1659, 1662, and 1655. Even Henry More, in 1660, in the Preface to his Mystery of Godliness, praises his earlier writings. And one Tobias Conyers, an "Independent Arminian," in Feb. 16$\frac{59}{60}$, defends his own doctrine respecting the 39 Articles by the authority of "Hammond, Taylor, Gunning, Thurscross, Pierce, and Thorndike," whom he eulogizes as "the most learned and best beloved children of the Church of England" (White Kennet's Chronicle, p. 58).

[f] See below, at the end of § 5.

[g] See Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. vi. § 12, note z; and Reform. of Ch. of Engl. &c., c. i. § 2, note f.

[h] See Disc. of Forbear. or Penalties &c., c. xxvii. note i; and Reform. of Ch. of Engl., c. vii. note g.

[i] The relation of baptism to justification is stated by Bull in his Apologia pro Harmonia, sect. iv. § 9 (Op. vol. iv. p. 360) "uti egregie docuit doctissimus et pientissimus Thorndicius noster ὁ μακαρίτης in scriptis suis passim." Bull was writing in 1675, three years after Thorndike's death.

[j] Practical Discourse of Religious Assemblies, by W. Sherlock, publ. in 1681, Introd. p. 3. ed. 1840. See also W. Falkner, Libertas Ecclesiastica, or a Discourse vindicating the Lawfulness of those things which are chiefly excepted against in the Church of England, especially in the Liturgy and Worship, &c., Bk. I. c. iv. sect. iii. § 4. p. 127, and Bk. II. c. i. sect. ii. § 9. p. 318 (8vo. Lond. 1674, revised edition): and Sam. Parker, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, Case of the Church of England briefly and truly stated in the three first and fundamental principles of the Christian Church &c. (by S. P. a presbyter of the Ch. of Engl.), pp. 78, 195. Lond., 8vo. 1681. The latter has very largely borrowed from Thorndike. For these references the writer is indebted to Mr. Brewer, in his introd. to Thorndike's Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., 8vo. 1841.

[k] Primitive Christianity, c. vii. p. 87. ed. 1840: first publ. in 1675.

[l] On the Christian Priesthood (1707 first. edit., 1711 third), in the account of the third edition (Works, vol. i. pp. 27—30. Oxf. 1847); and again in explanation of a passage of Thorndike cited by Bishop Trimnel whom Hickes is answering (ibid. pp. 37, 38); in the Prefatory Discourse, sect. xxiii. (ibid. p. 326); in c. ii. § x. (ibid. vol. ii. p. 158), and sect. xiv. (ibid. p. 220)—and Dignity of Episcopal Order, c. i. sect. viii. (ibid. p. 368), and c. ii. sect. ii. (ibid., p. 384).—And see above, in Thorndike's Judgm. of Ch. of Rome, § 1, note a.—See also John Hughes, Dissertations prefixed to an edit. of S. Chrys. De Sacerdotio in 1710, Diss. v. (in Append. to Hickes, vol. iii. p. 317): and Bp. Sage, Vindication of Principles of Cyprianic Age, publ. in 1695 (see the references above in Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties, c. xxiii. note l): and Gilbert, Church of England's Wish for the restoring of Primitive Discipline (8vo. Lond. 1703), who borrows as a motto Thorndike's emphatic words in his Due Way of Composing Differences, at the end of § 50.

displayed an amusing anxiety, explained by the fact that it had been denied to their father Nicholas in 1592[r]: and which at that time was somewhat more of a reality than it is at present. Their family was accordingly admitted, for the first time, into the Heralds' Visitations in 1634. The marriage of their sister Joan with a cadet of the ancient family of Newcomen, and their connection by some similar tie with the family of the Ashfordbys, point to a like recognition of their rank in the county at the same time on the part of their neighbours[s]. Francis the elder brother, although inheriting the property at the Carltons, appears for some reason to have left the paternal residence to his younger brother, who was also his father's executor, and to have migrated to the neighbouring villages of Burwell and Scamblesby; at the latter of which places he mostly resided, and died there at the age of 74 in 1644. He married Alice daughter of Edward Coleman, of the Colemans of Burnt Ely Hall and of Waldingfield in Suffolk, who died at Burwell in 1623; and by her had four sons, Francis the eldest, who inherited his property at the Carltons and Scamblesby, John, Herbert the divine himself, and Paul. Of these the eldest and youngest appear to have lived and died, as their father had done before them, as country squires in their native county[t]. Paul the youngest, who resided at Saucethorpe in

sable, a cross ermine between four leopards' faces or," and for crest, "On a wreath of their coullours a dymey-panther rampant or, with flames of fire issuing out of his mouth and eares, holding in his two pawes a lawrell proper mantled gules doubled argent." That this document related to the father and uncle of the prebendary, and not to his cousins of the same names, is proved by the descriptions of the persons intended. Different bearings were assigned to Francis Thorndike before 1633, by Sir William Segur, Garter; and were borne by him at the Visitation of 1634. The arms, of which there is a rough draught, with some quaint annotations, apparently by Francis himself, in the Heralds' College (printed below at the end of the Pedigree), are nearly the same with those in Yorke's Union of Honour (p. 49, fol. Lond. 1640): viz. Argent guttè and a chief gules, thereon three leopards' heads or. Yorke makes the leopards' heads argent, probably by mistake, as his blazons are not coloured. And a similar coat to this, although somewhat obliterated at the upper part, is on the seal affixed to a letter of Herbert the prebendary, dated March 21, 1659, in the Harleian MSS. (printed above No. XI.) The crest assigned by Sir W. Segur was a damask ro-e proper leafed vert, issuing from the back of a beetle sable.

[r] In a list of names of those who bore arms improperly in the county of Lincoln in 1592, when a Heralds' Visitation took place there, occurs the name of Nicholas Thorndike.

[s] For all these facts and those following them in the text, see the pedigree in note A at the end of this Life.

[t] The eldest son appears to have been educated at Cambridge, where he entered (if it was the same person) seven years before his brother Herbert. "Franciscus Thorndick electus et admissus scholaris Magistri Gab[l]. Dunne," at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, March 26, 1606. He was also Taxor of the University in 1614. The dates agree

the neighbourhood of Spilsby, where he married the widow of Mr. Adland Welby, and had children, was spared by an early death in 1640 from seeing more than the commencement of the troubles preceding the civil war. Francis, who survived until the middle of the Usurpation, and died in 1656, was at least not so signally a loyalist but that he retained the paternal estates, to which he succeeded in 1644; and bequeathed them, directly to his only surviving child out of a large family[u], a daughter named Ann, and ultimately to his brother Herbert. John, the second son, whether from a spirit of adventure, or from the turn of his religious sentiments, migrated in 1633 to the colony of New England, at that time the hot-bed of Independency, to return to England, and die, after the Restoration, in 1668; leaving however children, who either returned to the colony or remained in it, and whose descendants still exist in the town of Boston in the United States[x]. It may be gathered also from the letter addressed by Herbert to his brother in 1654, 5, or 6[y], that Francis, to whom it was addressed, was disposed, as well as the second brother, to temporize in his adherence to the Church, and to communicate with the intruded ministers of that time instead of adhering to the ejected and persecuted clergy. And we may perhaps find in these domestic circumstances, and in the affectionate solicitude which they would call forth, some explanation of that intense dislike of Puritans and Sectaries, which has seemed so unreasonably bitter in Thorndike's writings.

with the supposition, that this was Herbert's eldest brother; who must have been born a few years prior to 1598, and must have married his first wife about 1619. See below in the pedigree in note A.

[u] One son, Francis, born in 1620, survived until 1634; and if he is to be identified with a Francis Thornedicke, elected Scholar of Trinity College Cambridge in 1638, then until that year. But his father, although obviously most anxious to keep his property in the male line, yet omits all mention of him in his will in 1655. He was therefore probably dead before the last-named year, and either unmarried or at least without issue. See the pedigree below in note A.

[x] Mr. George Quincy Thorndike, and Mr. Somerby, two Americans, who came to England three or four years since, to make enquiries respecting their ancestors, are the authority for the history of John. And for his death, see above, p. 143, note r. The American information was kindly communicated to the writer by Lord Monson.

[y] The Letter concerning the Present State of Religion amongst us, in vol. v. of the present edition of Thorndike's Works, was written after 1654, but except the last clause of its title (which was added in 1662) contains nothing to prove it written so late as 1656, although probably published in the last-named year. Francis Thorndike died apparently in the autumn of 1656, as his will was proved Nov. 20 of that year. Of the two other brothers, one was at that time in America and the other dead. And that the letter was addressed to a brother, see the Advertisement prefixed to it, note a.

§ 3. No record remains of the day or place of birth of the prebendary himself. Fulman's[z] contemporary testimony agrees with Thorndike's own statement in the later part of his life[a], in dating it in the year 1598; and is not contradicted by any other evidence[b], in assigning it to a parish (unnamed) in the county of Suffolk[c], and not to the native county or parish of the family. Certainly the Thorndikes were at the time connected through marriage with the former county[d]: as they were also, subsequently, by the migration thither of the only surviving English branch of their stock and name[e]. The place of his early education is also unrecorded; but may not improbably be conjectured to have been the grammar-school of Horncastle, founded in 1571, with which his family were connected as governors[f]. At the age of 15 he was transferred to the University, and became upon Dec. 18, 1613[g], a pensioner, and at the election

Birth and education.

[z] Fulman (C. C. C. Library, Oxford, MSS. no. cccvii. fol. 24) leaves a blank for the place of Thorndike's birth, but specifies the county of Suffolk and the year 1598. Fulman, who was an antiquary of the Wood and Hearne stamp, was a protegé of Hammond's, and died in 1688.

[a] Scil. in the grace for his degree of D.D. in 1663, when he was in his 65th year. See below, § 28.

[b] Francis Thorndike the father presented to the living of Great Carlton (besides other years) in 1598 and 1603, and is in both years described as "of Scamblesby," in the Episcopal Register of the see of Lincoln. The registers of Scamblesby for the years 1580—90, 1593—6, and 1598, are lost. Neither in that parish, nor in the Carltons, nor in Burwell or Aby, is there any trace of the birth of Herbert the prebendary to be found. On April 16, 1598, a "Harbart Thorndycke" was baptized at Cumberworth, a parish on the eastern side of the county of Lincoln, between Aby and the sea. But there is nothing to identify him with the divine beyond the name and date, there is no trace of connection between the divine's immediate family and Cumberworth, and the Christian name of Herbert was a common one in all branches of the family. The Herbert born at Cumberworth was more probably the divine's first cousin, the son of Herbert of Greenfield in the parish of Aby, who must have been about of an age with him. Another Herbert, moreover, whose degree of relationship does not appear, was married at Castle Carlton in 1629, and died there in 1647, and consequently must have been a contemporary also.

[c] See note z.

[d] Viz. with Brent Eleigh and with Waldingfield near Sudbury, through the marriage of both Francis and Herbert, father and uncle of the divine. An aunt also married a Walgrave, which is a Suffolk and not a Lincolnshire name. See the pedigree in note A at the end of this Life. There is no record of Thorndike's baptism, either at Waldingfield or at Brent Eleigh.

[e] The Thorndikes of Ipswich, of whom Lieut.-Col. Daniel Thorndike of the Royal Artillery, and Andrew Thorndike, Esq., of Anglesey House, Southampton, are the present male representatives.

[f] Herbert Thorndike of Greenfield, the uncle of the divine, took the chair at meetings of the governors of the school in 1593 and 1606 (from information communicated by the Rev. T. White). The foundation and nature of the school may be learned from Carlisle's Hist. of Endowed Grammar Schools, vol. i. p. 817.

[g] This and the following dates (unless otherwise mentioned) are from the College and University books. Some

in Easter 1614[h] a scholar, of Trinity College, Cambridge, then flourishing under the munificent Mastership of Dean Nevile[i]. His degree of B.A. followed in due course in January $161\frac{6}{7}$; with what amount of credit, we are prevented by the loss of the record for the year from ascertaining[j]: and in 1618 or 1619[k] he was elected minor fellow, and in 1620, upon taking the degree of M.A., middle or major fellow of the College.

State of the University.

§ 4. The Universities, when Thorndike was first transplanted thither from his quiet county, were fast assuming their modern aspect. They had become schools of general education for the elder youth of the upper ranks of society, instead of the exclusive and permanent abodes of a single learned and ecclesiastical class[l]. The "poor scholar" and the "batteller" still earned their education by menial services, and had but recently ceased to earn it, not uncommonly, by actual mendicancy[m]. Discipline was still rough,

of them have been already printed in Twells. The Admission books of the College prior to 1640 are unfortunately lost.

[h] The last but five of forty-eight elected in that year. There is a MS. list of fellows, and of scholars who became fellows, of Trin. Coll., Cambridge, taken from Baker's MSS., among Gough's MSS. for Cambridgeshire in the Bodleian Library, which has supplied several of the facts stated here and below in the text.

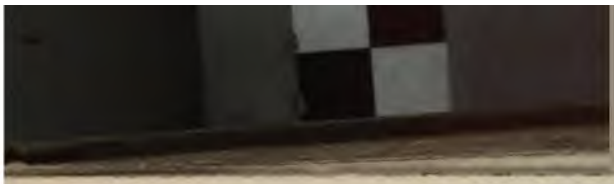
[i] Thomas Nevile, Dean of Canterbury, and Master of Trin. Coll., Cambridge, and the founder of Nevile's Quadrangle in that College, died May 2, 1615 (Le Neve).

[j] The page in the Cambridge Univ. Grace Book, which ought to have contained the order of seniority of the B.A.'s for 1617, has been left blank. That this order, the foundation a century later of wranglerships and optimes, indicated an order of merit even in Thorndike's time, is assumed by D'Oyly in his Life of Sancroft, vol. i. p. 9. There were 148 above Thorndike and 21 below him, when he took his M.A. in 1620.

[k] There seems to be a good deal of doubt whether the entry of the admission of Thorndike to the junior fellowship belongs to the year 1618 or 1619. The page on which the entry occurs is headed 26 Sept. 1618, upon which day and year accordingly Baker (in Cole's Collectanea, vol. xxx. fol. 207. a, Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS. no. 5831) assumes Thorndike to have been admitted. But the index to the book describes the entries on that page as relating to both 1618 and 1619, Thorndike's name is towards the bottom of the page, and the next entries of the admission of minor fellows belong to 1620.

[l] Peacock, On the Statutes of the University of Cambridge, pp. 7, sq., describes the internal management of the University from the Reformation-period.—The interpretation of the Univ. Statute, which authorised the non-residence of Bachelors of Arts during the interval between that degree and that of M.A., and which marks the date when special and professional education began to be severed from the general course, and the latter alone really given by the University, dates at Cambridge in 1608 (Cambr. Univ. Transactions, by Heywood and Wright, vol. ii. pp. 229—232). The degree of M.A. however had not yet become a merely formal step.

[m] The practice of scholars begging under licence from the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of either University is recognised by Act of Parliament so late as 1572 (see Cooper's Annals of



and manners comparatively coarse[n]. But a University training was now becoming the preliminary to an entrance upon all professions[o]. And the sons of gentry, of nobles, and even of the younger branches of the royal family itself[p], mingled in the literary republic; and gradually enlarged and refined the tone, while they increased the temptations, of their more straitened fellow-students[q]. The royal favour moreover shone

Camb., vol. ii. p. 306). See also the character of Academico and other students in The Return to Parnassus, acted at St. John's Cambridge in 1602 (in Cooper, pp. 618, 619): a quotation from an account of the University (ibid., vol. iii. p. 148) relating to the year 1622: and a statement dating in 1641 (ibid., vol. iii. p. 314). Smith, Cambridge Portfolio, vol. i. pp. 274, 275, will supply further evidence.

[n] See e. g. the account of the disturbance at the comedy acted in King's College in February 160$\frac{8}{9}$; and the decree in the same year against "night-jetters, keepers of greyhounds &c." (Cooper, vol. iii. pp. 24—26); and against excess in drinking, drunkenness, and taking tobacco, in the following year (ibid., pp. 23, 28). Corporal punishment was at the time the common punishment for scholars (non-adulti), as the stocks had been not long before. See also the decree against the scurrility of prevaricators, in 1626 (Cooper, under the year).

[o] Among those who had been students of Trin. Coll. Camb. alone, at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century, were statesmen such as Bacon, and the less known names of Sir R. Naunton, Sir F. Nethersole, Sir John Cooke; courtiers and gentry, such as Sir Thos. Herbert, Lord Burleigh's son the Marquis of Exeter (the father himself had been of St. John's), the Earl of Essex, Peachem the author of the Complete Gentleman, Sir R. Filmer; antiquarians, as Sir R. Cotton, Sir H. Spelman; lawyers, as Sir E. Coke and Dr. Cosin; physicians, such as Dr. Philemon Holland; and others too many to enumerate. Gilbert and Harvey were both Cambridge men.

[p] Thorndike's patron and friend, the Duke of Lennox, i. e. James Stuart, afterwards Duke of Richmond (see below, § 7, note e), who was third cousin to King Charles I., was a student of Trinity College Cambridge for three years (so Harrisonus Honoratus, for which see below in p. 173, note l). As such in 1625 he wrote a copy of verses, among the Epicedia of the University, on his "beloved uncle's" (King James I.'s) death, and again in the same year congratulatory verses to Charles I. on his accession and on his marriage (printed among the Cambridge Verses on those occasions; and see also Nichols' Progresses of James I., vol. iii. p. 1050). He voted also as M.A. for the Duke of Buckingham in 1626, as Chancellor of Cambridge. Lords John and Bernard Stuart his brothers (both afterwards slain in battle on the King's side in the Civil War), appear in a similar way to have been students of Trin. Coll. in 1637 (Συνοδια, sive Mus. Cantab. Concentus &c., on the birth of Charles I.'s fifth child, viz. the Princess Anne, 4to. Camb. 1637). And Lewis, another brother, was made M.A. in March 163$\frac{7}{8}$ (Cambr. Registry). Their uncle Lodovic Duke of Lennox, the friend and patron of George Herbert, took the degree of M.A. at Cambridge in 1613, in the train of Prince Charles and the Elector Palatine (Cambr. Univ. Trans. by Heywood and Wright, vol. ii. p. 614, and Cooper's Annals of Cambr., vol. iii. p. 56). Moreover, in each of the Cambridge Collections of Verses at the period, of which there were ten between 1625 and 1641, there are copies of verses by four, five, and once eight, young noblemen, students at the time, besides baronets, esquires, and *generosi*, the two latter titles possessing then a much more decided meaning than at present. The present average number of noblemen at either University does not exceed this.

[q] Edicts against dress, the gaiety and expense of which was among the special extravagances of the time, occur repeatedly at Cambridge at this period. And it appears by several amusing instances, e. g. that of one Pepper in 1600 (see Cooper, Annals of Camb. in that year), that others in the

brightly on the two Universities, and not least upon Cambridge, during the reigns of the pedantic James and of his refined and cultivated successor. Four times within the last ten years of his life (1615—1625[r]), James was entertained at Cambridge with his favourite amusements of disputations and plays, the latter no less learned than the former. And among the scenes which greeted the first year of Thorndike's academical residence, the one that abode in his memory, was the solemn Theological Act, which Royalty itself was moved to cut short by an interference more vigorous than dignified, upon James's first visit to the University in March $161\frac{4}{5}$[s]. Doubt-

University besides George Herbert were seduced into excessive love of gay dresses in their youth. Upon James's visit to Cambridge in 1614 it was enacted, that "consideringe the fearfull enormitye and excesse of apparell seene in all degrees, as namely, strange pekadivelas, vast bands, huge cuffs, shoe-roses, tufts, locks, and topps of hare, unbeseeminge that modesty and carridge of students in soe renowned an University, it is straightlye charged, that noe graduate or student . . weare any other apparell or ornaments . . than such only as the statutes and laudable customs of this Universitye do allowe" (Cooper, vol. iii. pp. 68, 69). It was enacted also at the same time, in consideration no doubt of James's strong opinions on the subject, that no one should "presume to take tobacco in St. Maries Church or in Trinity Colledge Hall, upon payne of finall expellinge the Universitie" (Id., ibid., p. 68).

[r] Twice in 1615, and again in 1623 and 1624.—Charles I. visited Cambridge in 1628, 1632, and 1642; besides accompanying Frederick the Elector Palatine thither, when a boy, in 1613, and his father in 1615 and 1624. Charles Lodowick Elector Palatine was there in 1636. See Cooper's Annals of Cambr. in those years. James also conferred more substantial benefits on the Universities; e.g. the right of representation in Parliament in 1603 (see Cambr. Univ. Trans. by Heywood and Wright, vol. ii. p. 207): and the patronage of benefices of which the patrons were Roman Catholics was also given in his time by Act of Parliament in 1606 (Cooper, vol. iii. p. 21). He also defended the Univ. of Cambridge against the encroachments of the town on more than one occasion (Heywood and Wright, pp. 212, 250, 288).

[s] Compare the Epilogue, Bk. III. c. xxxiii. § 42, 43, with the following extract from Fuller's Worthies (vol. i. p. 163, 164, ed. Nichols), in the description of the Divinity act on the occasion of James's visit.—"The question was maintained in the negative concerning the excommunicating of kings. Doctor Richardson vigorously pressed the practice of Saint Ambrose excommunicating of the emperor Theodosius; insomuch that the King (James) in some passion returned, 'Profecto fuit hoc ab Ambrosio insolentissime factum.' To whom Dr. Richardson rejoined,—'Responsum vere regium, et Alexandro dignum; hoc non est argumenta dissolvere sed desecare:'—and so sitting down, desisted from further dispute." The questions in the Divinity act, to which Thorndike was probably an ear-witness, were, "1. Nulla est temporalis Papæ potestas supra reges in ordine ad bonum spirituale. 2. Infallibilis fidei determinatio non est annexa cathedræ Papali. 3. Cæca obedientia est illicita:" in which "Bishop Harsnet the Vice-Chancellor was Moderator, Dr. John Davenant Respondent, and Dr. John Richardson" (then Master of Trinity College) "and others opponents" (Cooper, Annals of Cambr., vol. iii. pp. 71, 72, note, who quotes Fuller). It appears from § 42. of the Epilogue, that James was so far dissatisfied with his "royal desecation" of the question, as to command a renewal of it at the disputation which took place on the admission of De Dominis Abp. of Spalato to a degree, in 1617 (see Reg. Acad. Cant. for the date, ap. Wood, Ath. Oxon., vol. ii. col. 361. note, and also the Cambr. Univ.

less too our undergraduate was present, when the celebrated comedy of Ignoramus was acted upon the same occasion in the hall of Trinity College in the presence of the erudite monarch, and of upwards of 2,000 persons, and rewarded with his heartiest approval[t]. And the visit to Cambridge two years subsequently of James's learned convert, De Dominis, afforded an opportunity for the sequel of the unfinished theological disputation; at which also Thorndike seems to have been present. Under such exalted patronage, and with the general enlightenment of the times, the University prospered both materially and intellectually. A few words may not unfitly be bestowed in describing its condition during the half-century of Thorndike's connection with it. (i.) The numbers of the students corresponded with the enlarged sphere and (practically) diminished duration of the academic course. In 1618 and 1622 contemporary authorities reckon the residents at Cambridge respectively at 2998 and 3050[u]; which shews a steady increase upon the 1783 students reckoned by Fuller in 1574, and is in fact somewhat beyond their number (with a six-fold population, and a wider range of education) in 1854[x]. And the age of entrance, although still generally younger than it is at present, was gradually, and in some instances closely, approaching to what it now is[y]. (ii.) The system of education

Trans. by Heywood and Wright, vol. ii. p. 615); when by the king's direction, as it was understood, it was determined that "the *greater* excommunication had no place against sovereigns," leaving it to be inferred that the *lesser* excommunication had.

[t] One of four plays, one for each evening. See Cooper, and Hawkins' edition of Ruggle's Play of Ignoramus, 8vo. 1787. It was a satire on the lawyers and the townsmen at once, the then recorder of Cambridge Mr. Brackin being chiefly assailed in it. On both grounds it was acceptable to the academic portion of the audience. And its jokes were peculiarly of the quaint, pedantic, and erudite stamp, that especially took the fancy of James. He ordered it to be repeated and came to Cambridge expressly to see it, in May 1615.

[u] Scot's Tables for 1618, quoted by Fuller; and the Account of the University of Cambridge, for 1622. See Cooper's Annals of Cambr. under the years. In 1641 the number had considerably diminished; although 2091, the number given, does not include the whole (see Cooper). In 1672 it stood at 2522. Trinity and St. John's held somewhat the same position as at present relatively to the other colleges: in 1641 their numbers respectively were 277 and 280, Emmanuel (the Puritan College) 204, and the largest of the others 172.

[x] The number of undergraduates at Cambridge upon Dec. 31, 1853, was 1685; and that of the residents, in round numbers, about 3000. The whole number on the boards was 7408. In 1748, when the class of non-resident members of the senate must have begun to exist, the whole number of the University was so miserably low as 1500, according to the Cambr. Calendar.

[y] "The boys" was still a common term for the undergraduates (see e. g. in Heywood and Wright, vol. i. p. 509. in an. 1588, and in Cooper, vol. iii. p. 282, so late as 1636). A son of Sir Thomas Grantham, aged 13, was nearly drowned at St. John's Cambridge in 1625 (Mede's letter of July 2, 1625, in Heywood and Wright). Thorndike

was in accordance with these circumstances. It was assumed, that grammar had been sufficiently learned before entering the University[a]. And a course of rhetoric, dialectic, and philosophy, the intermediate subject occupying twice the period allotted to the other two, was directed by the Statutes of 1559 and 1570 (the latter still in force at this time) to occupy the four years of the undergraduate curriculum[a]. The classical scholarship of the Bentleys and the Porsons was still among things future. And still more so that exclusive study of mathematics, which has stamped so peculiar a character on modern Cambridge. But these as well as other studies were making a marked progress: and the foundation (actual or intended) of professorships[b], and the long and varied roll of Cambridge scholars[c], shew amply that learning in all branches was vigorously pursued and had attained a high standard. The University course however did not yet materially differ from that of other Universities. The gradual exclusion of mental by physical science from the circle of "philosophy" as defined in the Cambridge schools, belongs to the first half of the 18th, not of the 17th century, and to the period between Bentley, or Whiston, and the reformer Dr. Jebb[d], not to

himself went to the University at 15. But Milton (according to Todd) at 17; Simson in 1597 at 18; Oughtred in 1592 at 18; Duport in 1622 at 16; and the list, of all ages between 13 and 18, might easily be multiplied. So also Smith's Cambridge Portfolio, vol. i. pp. 273, 274: who gives a selection of instances.

[a] The Univ. Statutes of 1570 enact (c. l.), that all "matriculandi" shall have completed their 14th year, shall have learned grammar, and shall be ready to learn dialectic and mathematics. But the latter was the work of the B.A.

[a] The rhetoric is substituted for the "mathematics" of the Statutes of 1549.

[b] A Professorship of Logic was founded at Cambridge by Lord Maynard in 1621 (Fuller, Hist. of Univ. of Cambr.). One of Arabic, in 163½ by Thos. Adams. One of Anglo-Saxon, by Spelman in 1640. Bacon in 1626 designed two Professorships, after the model of Sir H. Savile's at Oxford, one to be of Natural Philosophy; but lack of funds compelled his executor to give up the scheme. Lord Brooke founded a Professorship of History in 1628, but this scheme likewise failed after a little while. The Lucasian, which is the first mathematical professorship, dates in 1663.

[c] e. g. (omitting divines like Mede) Broughton, Lightfoot, Whelock, Cudworth, Castell, Walton, Duport, Creighton, Gataker, Stanley, Thomas Gale, Thorndike himself, for languages: Briggs, Oughtred, Bainbridge, Foster, Rooke, Pell, Wallis, Isaac Barrow, for mathematics: Sir F. Willoughby, Lister, and Ray, for natural history. But of the mathematicians, three migrated to Oxford, Barrow was equally noted as a scholar, and Oughtred only of the others resided at Cambridge. Gresham College indeed was at the time more a centre of original mathematical enquiry than either University. And Oxford was not less so than Cambridge. The roll of poets was a long one, containing, Alabaster, Giles and Phineas Fletcher, Hawkesworth, Crashaw, Donne, George Herbert, Thomas Randolph, Cleveland, Beaumont, and finally, Milton, Cowley, Waller, and Dryden. Eight of the list were of Trinity College.

[d] See Peacock as before quoted, p. 69. Whiston in 1707 (quoted in Dyer's Hist. of Cambr., vol. i. p. 201) laments

that between the greater names of Bacon and Newton. In the earlier of the two periods, the ancient philosophy and languages were still in possession of the field of education, in Cambridge as elsewhere, although gradually yielding it to the continually increasing influence of mathematics and natural philosophy. The statutes, it is true, of Edward VI. in 1549 specify the different branches of the latter sciences among others, and with unusual precision[e]. But those of Elizabeth, both in 1559 and in 1570, displace them from the undergraduate course, and restrict them to that of the bachelor of arts[f]. And the detailed programme of the four years of an undergraduate's reading, drawn out by Dr. Holdsworth[g], who was Master of Emmanuel College 1637—44, is conclusive, both for the mixed nature of Cambridge studies at that time, and for the great preponderance still maintained by classical and by Aristotelian subjects. The list of the great names of the University at the same period[h], the subjects of the professorships successively founded[i], the attacks of Hobbes[k], Dell[l], Webster[m], and Glanville[n], between 1651 and 1661, upon the scholastic system as still prevalent in the Universities, corrected but not contradicted by the answer of Wilkins and Seth Ward[o] to the three former, and lastly,

the neglect of mathematics in the University. Bentley, with Cotes, was the first to found a real school of natural philosophy, although alien to his own pursuits (Monk, Life of Bentley, c. viii. pp. 158, 159). Jebb in 1773 details precisely, how formal and unimportant a part of the examination for B.A. metaphysics and moral philosophy had then become, although still nominally retained, and how effectually mathematics had by that time thrust everything else into the back-ground.

[e] "Recens venientem a ludo literario, primum excipiant mathematica. Illa toto eo anno discet, arithmeticen nimirum, geometriam, et astronomiæ cosmographiæque quantum poterit. Sequens annus dialecticam docebit. Tertius et quartus philosophiam adjunget." Stat. Edw. VI. cap. "Ratio Studiorum" &c.—"Hi auditores assidui philosophicæ lectionis astronomiæ perspectivæ et Græcæ linguæ sint," &c. Ibid., cap. "Bacc. Artium."

[f] See above in note z.

[g] See it at length in Smith's Cambridge Portfolio, vol. i. pp. 283, 284.

[h] See above, note c.

[i] See above, note b.

[k] Leviathan, Pt. iv. c. 46. pp. 370, 371. fol. Lond. 1651.

[l] Trial of Spirits &c. 4to. 1653. This writer (who figures in Thorndike's pages very often on account of his heresy respecting baptism) attacks *all* human learning whatsoever; but his testimony to the pursuits of the University remains the same. He was at the time Head of Caius College, Cambridge.

[m] Academiarum Examen, 4to. 1654, by John Webster; quoted by Peacock as referred to above in p. 162, note l. See also Cooper, vol. iii. p. 454.

[n] Vanity of Dogmatizing, by Joseph Glanvil, M.A. 8vo. 1661, c. xvii. p. 166: who however elsewhere gives Cambridge the credit of comparative superiority in the new philosophy (see Wood's Ath. Oxon., vol. iii. col. 1244). But this was after 1650.

[o] Vindiciæ Academiarum, 4to. Oxf. 1654. Wilkins wrote the letter prefixed, and Seth Ward the treatise itself. The latter in brief affirms, that mathematics are studied in the University, but that he wishes they were more studied, and admits the general study of

the lamentations of Duport after the Restoration over the then departing glory of Aristotle, confirm the statement. And if we look to particular cases, the Logical subject of the Philosophy Act upon James's visit in 1614, the Logical personages who figure in unwonted poetry in Milton's College exercise in 1625, and the Aristotelian "Vices," who form the characters of Randolph's play in 1640, may counterbalance the astronomical subject by which Seth Ward distinguished himself in 1638[d]. The Restoration indeed may be taken as the period when the greatest shock was given to the predominance of Aristotle, and when natural (still "the new") philosophy made its decisive advance. In the earlier part of the century the latter subject, not yet unfettered by Descartes first and then with a better method by Newton, still held only a second place. And an Oxonian may be pardoned for tracing the well-balanced reasoning and breadth of grasp, with which he finds the subtlest subject of theology (the relation of the attributes and of the grace of God to the freedom of man) discussed by Thorndike in the ablest portion of his great work[e], in part at least to the early training in the Aristotelian logic and the ancient Greek philosophy, which are evident in his writings, and which he owed to the then Cambridge system. (iii.) A very important change however was coming over the University, as it was likewise over the Church in general, upon another subject, the tone of her doctrinal sentiments. Not merely was subscription to the three articles of the thirty-sixth canon now enforced, in 1613 upon all candidates for higher degrees, in 1616 upon all who took any degree at all: but a far deeper change than any outward uniformity was taking place, and more sober views than those hitherto prevailing began to take firm hold of men's convictions. Puritanism in discipline had been crushed in the University by the Statutes of 1570[f]. Puritanism in doctrine was now giving way to what adversaries called (although untruly) Arminianism[g]. Cartwright and Charke had been ex-

Aristotle and of Logic and Metaphysic &c., which his adversaries censured.

[d] See below, § 5, p. 173. note j.

[e] Epilogue, Bk. II. cc. xxi.—xxvi. Thorndike read Averroes upon Aristotle's Φυσικὴ Ἀκρόασις "in his younger days at Cambridge." Epil. I. iii. 25.

[f] These statutes were specially contrived for the purpose by Whitgift then master of Trinity, and other Heads. See the papers relating to the strong opposition of the Masters to the imposition of them, in Heywood and Wright, vol. i.

[g] Arminius held doctrines distinctly involving Pelagianism (see above, Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c.

pelled upon the former account, and Browne and Aldrich censured, in 1572 and 1573. Ames and Chauncy, the latter a fellow of Thorndike's own College, were censured upon similar grounds in 1609 and 1624[h]. But the prevailing doctrinal sentiment had changed widely in the interval. In 1588, 1595, and 1596, it had been a punishable offence to censure Calvinists[i]; or to advance positions, however reasonable, that fell short of the fierce and irrational rigour of the strict scheme of Calvinistic predestination[k]. In 1618 and 1622, the "private opinions of Mr. Calvin and of Mr. Beza" (although upon points not directly theological) are summarily renounced[l], and the works of Pareus, another foreign divine, publicly burned[m]. In 1590 and 1595 there were rumours of Presbyterian "classes[n]," and actual and extensive non-conformity in doctrinal as well as ceremonial points[o], in Dr. Whitaker's College of St. John's. In 1622 these are replaced by rumours of Jesuits at the Commencement, and of rich altars and vestments smuggled through Cambridge[p]: while the preacher at the same Commencement, although in Mede's judgment "totally for Arminianism," yet obtains his divinity degree before his year in spite of all opponents[q]. In 1634 the University historian formally records the erection of organs, a significant step, in college chapels. And the solemnities of the chapel of Peterhouse under Cosin attracted in 1640 the animadversion of the

xxv. § 18. note f, § 19. note k, c. xxvi. § 34). And his followers went far beyond their founder, and degenerated ultimately into mere Socinianism (see above, Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c. c. xix. note s, and True Princ. of Comprehens., sectt. ii., notes x, y, and xi. note v). As, on the one hand, Dr. Ward of Sydney Sussex College at the Synod of Dort in 1618, and his colleagues, stopt far short of the extravagancies of the Anti-Remonstrants (see Epil., as above, c. xxvi. § 34, note y), so, on the other, it was simply untrue to identify with Arminius all that was not Calvin: such doctrine, for instance, as that of Baro (and of the English Catechism)—that Christ "redeemed *all* mankind."

[h] Ames went to Holland, and became there a leading divine: Chauncy ultimately to New England, where he became principal of Harward College.

[i] See the condemnation of Barret in 1595, in Cooper's Annals of Cambridge: and the charges against Digby in 1588, in Heywood and Wright, vol. i. p. 519.

[k] See the positions of Peter Baro, censured in 1596, in Heywood and Wright, vol. ii.

[l] By Brownrigg in a recantation (Heywood and Wright, vol. ii. p. 294). The "opinions" related to civil government, not expressly to theology, but the treatment of Calvin and of Beza is equally disrespectful.

[m] See Heywood and Wright, vol. ii. pp. 303—305.

[n] See Cooper, and Heywood and Wright, under the year.

[o] See the account of Alvey's proceedings in the latter year in Heywood and Wright.

[p] See Mede's letters, ibid.

[q] See ibid.—If "he could preach near popery and yet no popery, there was your man," was the discontented expression of one of the Puritans in St. Mary's pulpit in 1631, according to Fuller.

House of Commons. Finally, the venerable patriarch of the more moderate academic puritans, Dr. Chaderton, resigned his Headship of "Pure[r]" Emmanuel College in 1622[s], to be succeeded indeed through a skilful ruse[t] by one of his own side in the person of Dr. Preston: but in other Colleges, the names of Mawe, Brooke, and Comber of Trinity[u], of Beale of St. John's, of Laney of Pembroke Hall, of Cosin of Peterhouse, of Brownrigg of Catharine Hall, and of Sterne of Jesus College, explain the complaint of Dr. Ward in 1634[v], of the "new Heads brought in," and "backed in maintaining novelties," who supported the preacher of an obnoxious sermon in that year, as they did in two similar cases in 1637[w]; and mark clearly the extent of the change, while they point to one of its secondary causes in the similar change of sentiment in the court and at Lambeth.

Thorndike's University life.

§ 5. Such was the state of the University—separated as yet from the capital of the kingdom by a tedious horse-journey of two days[x], and destitute of any better conveyance for letters than its well-known carrier[y], but still one of the great centres of the literature, the science, the talent, and unhappily also the religious strife, of the nation,—at the period when Thorndike became a member of it, to reside there for thirty-three consecutive years (1613—1646) in the

[r] So styled commonly, as e. g. in Corbet's satirical poem in 1615. See Cooper, Annals of Cambr., vol. iii. p. 76. Its unconsecrated chapel, standing north and south, was typical of its doctrinal sentiments.

[s] He lived to the age of 103, and the year 1640, respected by all parties. Oxford readers cannot but be reminded of another Head of a college, of different sentiments to Chaderton indeed, but equally venerated, and closely approaching to an equal age, when cut off by a true εὐθανασία, even while this note was passing through the press.

[t] Amusingly detailed by Mede (in Heywood and Wright).

[u] See below, in § 5, p. 177, note t.

[v] See Ward's letter to Ussher, of 14 June 1634, in Parr's Life and Letters of Ussher (and Ussher's Works, vol. xvi.); quoted in Cooper under the year.

[w] One Tourney in 1634 in a sermon before the University "seemed to avouch the insufficiency of faith to justification," and when convented was favoured by a strong party among the Heads of Colleges. The same thing happened, when one Sylvester Adams preached respecting confession to a priest on June 25, 1637. See Collier's Ch. Hist., vol. ii. pp. 120—122; and Cooper under both years. Antony (afterwards Bishop) Sparrow a little later in the year 1637 preached a sermon to the same effect with that of Adams; and when convented for it, was borne out according to Prynne by Abp. Laud, according to Blomefield by the Vice-chancellor and Heads. See the references in Cooper, ibid.

[x] See Cooper's Annals, vol. iii. p. 140, an. 1621; and p. 463, an. 1671. The first coach from Cambridge to London was in 1653 (ibid., p. 454).

[y] Scil. Hobson. See Cooper, ibid. pp. 230, sq. The regular post dates from 1654, when John Manley managed it; and became a government institution in 1658, and again in 1660. In 1663 the postage between Cambridge and London was fourpence: see Thorndike's letter to Sancroft, above, p. 139.

active but unobtrusive pursuits of a student's life. He became a tutor in his College[z] shortly after his election to a major fellowship, already mentioned, and as early as 1621[a]. But his earliest public employment was that of deputy to his friend and brother-fellow George Herbert[b], in the post of Public Orator, held by the latter from 1619 to 1627: a choice on Herbert's part, which indicates an early reputation in his vicegerent for ability and scholarship. In this capacity Thorndike delivered an oration in St. Mary's Church at Cambridge upon the afternoon of May 7, 1625, the day of King James's funeral[c]; which however has not been preserved. Before 1627, by the Statutes of his College, he must have been in holy orders; but the record of his ordinations cannot now be recovered[d]. He was University Preacher in 1631[e]: to his sermons in which capacity he seems to allude

[z] His name occurs in the college books of the year 1621 as liable for "the plate" of Mr. Flud and Mr. Coote, two gentlemen commoners of Trinity College. The custom was, that gentlemen commoners contributed a certain sum towards purchasing plate for the College; and the tutor, i.e. in this case Thorndike, was responsible for the payment, which in these two cases was still due.

[a] A silly piece of gossip, refuted by its very date, is in Aubrey's Lives of Eminent Men, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 272 (8vo. Lond. 1813); which if it had happened at all, must have happened at this period. He accuses "*Dr.* Thorndyke" (as he twice calls him) of "filching from Camden, as he lay a-dying," certain "minutes of King James I. from his entrance into England;" which, he adds, were "not above 6 or 8 sheets of paper, as I remember," and "Dr. Thorndyke told Sir W. Dugdale so, who told me of it." Camden died in 1623 at Westminster; at which time Thorndike was a young fellow of Trinity College, about 25 years old, resident at Cambridge, and very unlikely to have been on such terms with Camden as to be about his person when he was on his deathbed. A similar gossiping story, in which Bp. Hacket is made to figure, and which occurs in the same page of Aubrey's book, appears to rest on better evidence: see the Biographia Britannica, art. Camden.

[b] When King James came to Cambridge, of course Herbert attended in person. "At other times he left the manage of his orator's place to his learned friend Mr. Herbert Thorndike, who is now prebend of Westminster." Izaak Walton, Life of G. Herbert. No other oration of Thorndike's is mentioned besides that referred to above in the text. Antony Sleep, also fellow of Trinity, and a few years Thorndike's senior, preceded him as deputy orator. See James the First's pun about his name, in Wood, Fasti Oxon. an. 1611.

[c] Nichols, Progresses of James I., vol. iii. p. 1049. A great number of orations, by Herbert and others, belonging to this period, were printed. Thorndike's either was not so, or at any rate is not to be found.

[d] The old statutes of Trinity College require fellows to be in priest's orders within seven years from the M.A. (Stat. T. C. C. c. xix). See also Epil. Pref. § 3. Thorndike's title was probably his fellowship, as he had no other ecclesiastical preferment until 1636. If so, the Bishop of Ely, it is to be presumed, ordained him; but the records of that See supply no evidence on the subject, Mr. Burder the present Bishop's secretary having kindly searched them for the purpose. The book which would have contained it, appears to be lost. Possibly he might have held a curacy for a short time in another diocese, which again might account for his absence at the Duke of Buckingham's election: but there is no evidence at all of this beyond mere conjecture.

[e] He signed the three articles of the

in one of his books[d], but nothing more is mentioned of them; unless indeed that the absence of all mention of University sermons, in those days of excited feeling and ready interference of authority, agrees with what will hereafter appear of the preacher's moderation both of sentiment and of language. It is in accordance also with such a view of his character at this period, that at the time when the skilful tactics of the court party secured the Chancellorship to the Duke of Buckingham in 1626, by a bare majority, against the spirited opposition of both the independent and the Puritan sections of the Masters, Thorndike's name occurs on neither side[e]. That he was one of those Masters whom Mede[f] amusingly describes as "getting hacknies and flying to avoid importunity," seems improbable, from the sturdy honesty of his character in later life: but certain it is, that although Dr. Mawe, then Master of Trinity College, tried every means of personal influence, in common with most of the other Heads of Colleges, to "belabour his fellows[g]," and accordingly a large number of the fellows of Trinity appear in the majority, yet Thorndike either escaped or resisted his entreaties; while his antipathy to the "zealots," or his loyalty to the crown, equally kept him from joining the opposite party. In 1632 he held the office of Greek Reader in his College[h], and in 1639 that of Head Lecturer; posts which according to the then distribution of the work of tuition involved its chief management, the office of the tutors (specially so called) being to prepare their pupils for the lectures of the College lecturers. In 1634, 5, and 6, he had been steward of

36th Canon in that capacity, in 1631, and whatever else the University preachers were at the time required to sign. So the Univ. books; and from them, Twells in his Life of Pocock.

[d] Epilogue Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxiv. § 3. note b.

[e] The lists of voters on either side are preserved, and are in Cooper's Annals of Cambr., vol. iii. pp. 186, 187. They seem however incorrect. Names are repeated in them, and occur on both sides. Buckingham was at the time impeached by the H. of Commons, who took up the election as a direct attack on themselves, and were only stopped by a decided act of Charles himself, at this time still in full possession of his royal power, from taking severe measures against the University. The majority was 6 according to the lists, 3 according to Mede (quoted by Cooper); and there appears to have been a suspicion that the lists were tampered with.

[f] In his letter, quoted by Cooper, ibid.

[g] Mede, ibid. Mawe sent for his fellows singly, and that sometimes twice over, and personally pressed them. Compare the "closetings" of Bentley's time (Monk, Life of Bentley, c. ix. p. 188).

[h] This and the dates of the other College offices, are from the College books. Some of them are in Twells. An account of these lectureships is in Peacock, as before, pp. 5—8.

the College[i]. In 1638 he served the office of Senior Proctor[j]. And upon July 6, 1639, he was sworn in as one of the eight Seniors who with the Master form the governing body of Trinity College. Of his inner life during this period little can be made out. His College, at that time as now approached in numbers only by St. John's, had been recently saved by the vigour of its Master, Dean Nevile, from becoming a mere appendage of Westminster School, and continued, as it had done from its foundation, to abound with learned and able men[k]. Thomas Harrison, one of the translators of the Bible, honoured by all Cambridge, at his death in 1631, with a public funeral, was its Vice-Master from $161\frac{1}{2}$ to 1628[l]. Another of the same noble company, Dr. Richardson, became its Master (although apparently not to the contentment of the fellows) from 1615 to 1625[m]. Dr. Comber, Master 1631—1647, was Senior fellow from 1616[n]. Brooke, his predecessor in 1629, the friend and brother student of Donne, and himself both poet and divine, was fellow

[i] In the first page of the Steward's accounts for 1640, in which year Thorndike had ceased to hold the office, there is an entry to this effect—"This book was shewn to Mr. Harbert Thorndick at the time of his examination before us. (Signed) Mich. Honywood, Tho. Buck, Barnabas Oley." And lower down—"This book was also shewn to Francis Hughes and T. Adams at the time of their several examinations before us. (Signed) Mich. Honywood, Barn. Oley." Francis Hughes, one of the Esquire Bedels, was at the time auditor of the College, and ought to have signed his name at the end of the accounts; but the signature of Dr. Comber the Master appears there in this year instead of the auditor's. This circumstance, and the examination of the accounts by friendly but out-College arbitrators, looks as if some dispute had arisen respecting them, in which Thorndike was called to give evidence as a recent Steward. Such at least is the very probable explanation suggested by Mr. Edleston. Thomas Adams was senior fellow, 1620. Honywood, and Oley, were respectively of Christ's, and Clare Hall. And Thomas Buck, who was of Catharine Hall, was Esquire Bedel, and University printer. Hughes and Buck are mentioned together in 1653 (Cooper, vol. iii. p. 452).

[j] Le Neve. In Walter Pope's Life of Seth Ward (c. iii. p. 11. 12mo. 1697) it is mentioned that Thorndike, in the year of his proctorship, which rendered him officially moderator of disputations, "took especial notice" of Ward, then a young man, who distinguished himself in that year by his disputation for the degree of B.A. Ward's subjects were "The Julian and Gregorian accounts of the year." See below, for Ward's subsequent connection with Thorndike in 1643.

[k] See above, § 4, p. 163, note o; and Monk's Life of Bentley, c. vii. pp. 109, 110; c. xvii. pp. 534, 535.

[l] So the pamphlet entitled Harrisonus Honoratus, by one Dalechamp of Sedan (Camb. 4to. 1631): and for the dates, the MS. in Gough's Collection, quoted above in § 3, note h. Harrison's name as Vice-Master occurs in the Cambridge verses of 1612 and 1625.

[m] Hardy's Le Neve. For the complaint against him in 1624, and its failure, see Cooper's Annals of Cambr. under the year. The particulars of the charge are not stated.

[n] So Gough's MS. Comber, who was Dean of Carlisle, must be distinguished from his cousin, also Thomas Comber, but Dean of Durham, the author of the Companion to the Temple. Comber and Brooke were elected scholars in 1593.

from 1604[o]: and Edward Simson[p], the author of the Chronicon Catholicum, from 1602 to about 1628. Hacket the future Bishop of Lichfield[q], and George Herbert[r], were scholars in 1609, under Simson's tuition, being elected together from Westminster in 1608; Creighton[s], afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, was elected scholar, also from Westminster, the same year with Thorndike himself, viz. 1614; Creighton's rival in Greek scholarship, Edward Palmer[t], and Chauncy[u] the Puritan, the future head of Harward College in New England, had preceded them in 1610; Bishop Ferne[x] followed in 1621; Duport[y], and the poet Thomas Randolph[z], in 1623 and 1624; Sir Thomas Sclater[a] the physician in 1634; Cowley[b] the poet in 1637: all of whom, to omit many others of minor note[c], were resident fellows during parts of Thorndike's residence. We may add to them the names[d] of Richard Sterne, the future Archbishop of York, of Abraham Whelock, Sir Thomas Herbert, Antony Scattergood, John Pell, William Outram, Isaac Barrow; who were students of the

[o] Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors, and Wood's Fasti Oxon. in an. 1621.

[p] See his Life pref. to his Chron. Cathol., and Browne Willis, and Wood's Athen. Oxon. He was accused of Arminianism in 1617, but cleared himself to King James's satisfaction (Cooper under the year).

[q] See the Alumni Westmon., Wood's Athen. Oxon., Plume's Life of Hacket.

[r] See a note to the Life and Remains of G. Herbert, vol. i. p. 24. Lond. 1844.

[s] So Gough's MS.; and see above, p. 147. note d. The election at Westminster would take place on St. Peter's day 1613; that at Trinity College, in the week after Easter 1614. Creighton was a celebrated Greek scholar in his time. Another fellow of Trinity College, Edward Palmer, for whom see Monk's Life of Duport in the Museum Criticum, contested the Greek Professorship with him on the death of Downes in 1624.

[t] See the last note.

[u] See above, p. 169.

[x] Master also of the College 1660. Gough's MS., corrected by the college books, gives the date of this, as of the other Scholarships, mentioned in the text.

[y] See below in note D: and Monk's Life of Duport in the Museum Criticum, vol. ii.

[z] "The English Ovid." See Monk, ibid.

[a] M.P. for the University in 1658. A great benefactor to the College, when restored in 1660 to the fellowship, which he lost in 1645. See Monk's Life of Bentley, c. vii. p. 111.

[b] Fellow in 1640: see Monk, ibid., p. 110. He missed the Westminster scholarship in 1636 (Alumni Westm.); but was elected to an open scholarship in the College in 1637. One of his plays was written in order to be acted in Trinity College Hall. Tomkis, Brooke, Hawkesworth, Thos. Vincent, Stubbe, Hacket, and Randolph, were the other poet-fellows of the Collegiate Stage.

[c] e. g. Robert Hitch, Dean of York, Cæsar Williamson, Dr. Boreman, Sir C. Wheeler, Dr. Whincop (see p. 177, note t), Samways (see Wilkins, Conc., iv. 569, and Wood's A. O.), and four of those mentioned in the end of the last note.

[d] Sterne was scholar in 1614, the same year with Thorndike: Whelock, who matriculated at Trin. Coll., was B.A. 1614: Sir T. Herbert matriculated about 1622: Scattergood matriculated 17 Dec. 1628 (Wood, Fasti Oxon. in an. 1669): for Pell, see above in p. 115, note b: Outram, afterwards a colleague of Thorndike at Westminster, entered Trinity College in 1641 (Biogr. Brit.): Barrow, Febr. 25, 164$\frac{4}{5}$.

College during the same period. And to put another touch to the picture, the expulsion of Andrew Marvel[e], in 1641, must have been an act in which Thorndike himself participated as Senior fellow. During the same period, between 1613 and 1630, eight Bishops are enumerated, chosen from those who had been fellows or scholars of the College[f]: four fellows of Trinity held the Public Oratorship successively from 1594 to 1639[g]: twelve out of fourteen Greek professors between 1547 and 1695 were likewise fellows of Trinity[h]: and between 1553 and 1612, eight fellows of Trinity had been chosen into the Headships of other Colleges[i]. Nor was Thorndike himself, independently of his University and College offices, an idle member of this intellectual Society. He employed his time, as the result shews, in laying the foundations of that extensive knowledge, both of theology and of languages, and especially of Rabbinical literature and oriental languages, upon which his contemporary fame principally rested[k]. And the first-fruits of his studies were made public in a Hebrew, Syriac, Rabbinical, and Arabic Lexicon, published at London in 1635[l] (perhaps in a previous edition in 1632[m]), but now forgotten and out of date;

[e] Andrew Marvel entered at Trinity College 14 Dec. 1633, and was sworn in scholar 13 April, 1638, after taking the degree of B.A. He writes verses in the Cambridge Collection of 1637, as of Trinity College. Sept. 24, 1641 he was expelled with four others, nominally for not keeping their residence and statutable exercises. Possibly Marvel's youthful inclination to Romanism had some connection with the business. See the Biogr. Brit., art. Marvel, and Thompson's Life of him.—The infamous Hugh Peters, who incurred a sharper piece of College discipline in the shape of a flogging in the College Hall (accord. to the pamphlet called Regicides no Saints or Martyrs), must have been of nearly the same standing with Thorndike himself, as he was B.A. of Trin. Coll. in 1618.

[f] See their names in Carter, Hist. of Cambr., under Trinity College.

[g] Hardy's Le Neve.

[h] Id.

[i] See Monk, Life of Bentley, c. vii. p. 110, note 5. Creighton in 1635, and in 1643 Thorndike himself, were very near being added to the list: see below, § 12, note w. And Wilford, schol. of Trin. Coll. 1631, fellow 1633, was Master of Corpus 1661.

[k] "Linguarum scientia celebris," is Bryan Walton's description of him in the Preface to the Polyglot Bible in 1657. "The stupendiously learned Mr. Thorndike," is Lloyd's phrase in his Memorials of Loyal Martyrs, Life of Dean Comber (of Carlisle, the Master of Trinity), p. 449 (fol. Lond. 1668). "Doctrinæ abyssus" and "Seculi Varro sui," are the poetical exaggerations of his friend and fellow Collegian Duport, writing after his death (see note D at the end of this Life); who also describes him in plain prose, as "multifaria eruditione instructissimus" (ibid.). See also Clarendon's and Jeremy Taylor's expressions, as quoted below, in speaking of the Epilogue in 1659. "The learned Mr. Thorndike" is the usual description of him by contemporaries, e. g. Abraham Hill (Life of Barrow pref. to Barrow's Works publ. 1680), W. Sherlock, Bp. Parker, Bp. Bull; and so also Bp. Sage, and last not least Dr. Routh: as quoted above, § 1, notes b, i, j, l. Baxter also (Disp. on Ch. Gov., p. 90, in 1659) quotes "learned Mr. Thorndike."

[l] See note B, at the end of this Life.

[m] In all the copies of this book known to the writer (viz. one in the Univ.

and noticeable to a biographer of Thorndike principally for the pious ascription of glory to the Most High, with which it concludes[n]. Two complimentary effusions, in Greek and Latin verse respectively, written in 1633 and 1637 in honour of College friends (one of whom afterwards repaid him in kind[o]), and possibly a third in $163\frac{2}{3}$, among the Cambridge verses upon the recovery of Charles I. from the small-pox[p], constitute the whole of what is further known of his College residence prior to his first acceptance of parochial preferment in 1639[q].

Change in his doctrinal opinions.

§ 6. A change however was being gradually wrought during this period, as in the English Church at large and in both Universities, so also, and in the same direction, in Thorndike's individual theological sentiments[r]. There is no reason for thinking, that he came to College warped

Library Cambridge, and one in the Library of Jesus College Oxford), the date is 1635; and in the latter copy, "authore Harberto Thornedike," in the former, "Thornidicke;" nor is there any Preface or other document prefixed or subjoined, to which another date might be attached. But Nichols in his Hist. of Leicestershire (vol. iv. p. 133) circumstantially describes the book as "labore Herberti Thornedick, June 22, 1632," giving otherwise the same title and printer's name with the copies of 1635. The only conjecture, and that a probable one, which would reconcile the facts of the case, seems to be, that the book appeared first in 1632, and again, twice, and each time with a new title-page, in 1635; a practice exceedingly common at the time.—One Walter Keuchenius, a relation it is to be supposed of the scholar of the same surname who edited Frontinus in 1661 at Amsterdam, but of whom nothing more appears to be known, appended to the Lexicon an enlarged edition of Weigenmeier's Abbreviaturæ Hebrææ.

[n] See below in note B.

[o] Scil. Dr. Duport. See note D. at the end of this Life.

[p] The first is a Greek distich in honour of that most erudite of physicians (see the Cambridge verses of the time *passim*), Ralph Winterton's edition and translation into verse of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates (Cantab. 12mo. 1633). The second is a set of Latin Hendecasyllables prefixed to Duport's Θρηνοθριαμβος sive Liber Job Græco Carmine redditus (Cantab. 12mo. 1637). The third is a dozen Latin elegiacs, signed H. T. C. T., in the Cambridge verses on the occasion mentioned in the text (Camb. 4to. 1632). Charles fell ill in December 1632. All three will be found in note C at the end of this Life.

[q] The ravages of the plague interfered sadly with the studies of the University during the latter portion of this period of Thorndike's life; besides causing a terrible loss of life, which fell however principally upon the townsmen. In 1625, 1630, 1631, 1636, 1637, 1638, and again in every consecutive year from 1641 to 1647 (Cooper, Annals of Cambr.), the plague appeared at Cambridge. Its severest attack however was in 1630, when Trinity College dispersed upon April 30, and did not return until Nov. 20; and the University exercises and sermons were discontinued upon May 19. In this year, "347 died of the plague, and 617 of all diseases." It appears to have attacked the scholars of Caius College in 1636.

[r] Sanderson, Ussher, Pierce, Thomas Jackson, Dr. C. Potter, have all recorded a change about the same period in their own sentiments, similar in kind to that which took place with Thorndike's, but from views much more decisively Calvinistic than any that he ever appears to have held. See Wordsworth's Eccles. Biography, vol. iv. p. 437, note. And doubtless the same leaven of good was working in the hearts of most thoughtful divines at the time.

through prejudices of family or education with any strong bias either towards Church principles or towards Puritanism[s]. Neither does it appear that he found in the College itself, with its numerous, able, and learned body of fellows, any blind or universally prevailing partizanship, in either direction[t]. It was neither Puritan, like Sidney or Emmanuel: nor was it accused of Romanizing, like St. John's under Beale or Peterhouse under Cosin. The days of Cartwright and of Travers had passed away long since: and their successors as a body were Churchmen, but Churchmen of a moderate stamp. Accordingly, when the time came for forming his opinions for himself, we may gather from Thorndike's own statements[u], that while throughout his residence there he took a decided line against the Calvinistic party in

[s] The family were Protestants and not Romanists, but hardly appear to have held any more decided views. Francis the father possessed Church patronage, viz. the advowson of Great Carlton; and Herbert the uncle was a Governor of the Horncastle Grammar School, founded in Queen Elizabeth's time, a few years before. For the Prebendary's brothers, see above.

[t] Thorndike's college appears to have taken much the same line with himself. On the one hand, the few fellows puritanically disposed, such as Chauncy, and Thomas Whincop (afterwards one of the Westminster Assembly), and probably the Mr. Chester who organized the opposition to the Duke of Buckingham in 1626, with doubtless some others, were evidently outnumbered in the college. On the other, the Hackets, and Herberts, and Fernes, and Duports, and Creightons, were Churchmen, but not quite of the Laudian stamp. The Masters naturally took a stronger line, selected as they were by the crown. Mawe, who succeeded Richardson in 1625, and is commemorated by Fuller (Worthies, County Suffolk, p. 61. fol. edit.) as having delivered the college from debt, had distinguished himself as Proctor in 1610 by a speech against confiscation of Church-property, which excited the indignation of the House of Commons (Cooper, vol. iii. pp. 39, 40), was one of Buckingham's (i.e. the court's) warmest supporters in 1626, and was chosen to succeed Laud in the see of Bath and Wells in 1629. Dr. Samuel Brooke, who succeeded Mawe, wrote what Prynne calls an Arminian book on Predestination, dedicated to Laud; and was as resolute an enemy to Puritanism as the Archbishop himself (see his own letter in Wood's Fasti Oxon., ed. Bliss. an. 1621). For Comber, who succeeded Brooke in 1631, see Lloyd's Loyal Martyrs, and Walker's Sufferings. He supported Adams the accused preacher in 1637 (see above p. 170. note w). In the summary of "Common Disorders in the University," sent to Laud preparatory to his intended visitation in 1636, by (as it is supposed) Cosin or Sterne, they of Trinity College are "noted," and "have long been" so, "to be very negligent of their chappell and of their prayers in it, the best come but seldome:" also, "in some Tutors' chambers (who have 3 or 4 score pupills) the private prayers are longer and louder by far at night than they are at chappell in the evening." Sundry irregularities are then specified: and a still heavier charge brought of selling "Fellows, Scholars, and Officers' places." However, "they have lately taken advice and are now about mending their chappell, if it holds" (Cooper, under the year). This paper is no doubt exaggerated, and full of untrustworthy accusations, but it shews that the College was not strongly Laudian.

[u] Epil., Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxx. § 12, published in 1659: and True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. vi.,

the University upon doctrinal points, he, nevertheless, not only entertained a very high reverence for "the piety and learning" of many members of that party, but held views at the commencement of his life less widely divergent from theirs than the sentiments of his matured years. He speaks of himself as having at this time "opposed the furious pretences of zealots in the University," on the points of justification by special faith, and of that still worse error, which resolves the faith that justifies, into a bare consciousness of individual predestination; but upon grounds which he afterwards surrendered, as insufficiently distinguished from these very "pretences" themselves. And what is still more inconsistent with his later views and feelings, he appears in early life to have felt reluctant to condemn without qualification that which is a cardinal point in the Calvinistic scheme, the doctrine of indefectible grace: against which in his published writings he inveighs with especial and unhesitating vehemence. It is plain however by his earliest tracts, that in 1642[v], if not in 1641, his views had already become upon these points what they continued to be throughout his life. And we may conclude, that extensive reading and earnest study gradually produced in him their usual results, by bringing his sentiments into closer union with primitive, sober, and Catholic truth. Obviously he was regarded at the close of this period, as Baxter's subsequent remark shews, as a man decidedly separated from the Puritan party, but of moderate doctrinal sentiments: a view, which his opinions respecting Church government and discipline would, as we shall shortly see[x], confirm.

Is preferred to a prebendal stall at Lincoln by Lord Keeper Williams, and be-

§ 7. The source of his earliest preferment out of the University strengthens this inference. Archbishop Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln, the opponent of Laud and Heylin, and at the time just upon the verge of his fall from power, but no Puritan, conferred upon him in April 1636 the prebendal stall of Layton Ecclesia in the Cathedral of Lincoln,

written in 1667. See also the Pref. to the Epilogue, § 3.

[v] See Serv. of God at Rel. Assemblies, c. vi. § 12 (publ. in 1642): and compare what is said about the discipline of penance, ibid., c. x. § 80, and in Prim. Gov. of Church, c. xi. § 2. (published in 1641).

[x] Below, § 10. And see Baxter's remark quoted below in § 10, note f.

vacated by George Herbert's death[y]: a dignity which the office of College Preacher[z] rendered tenable with his fellowship, according to the College statutes[a], but which the same statutes compelled him to resign in 1640, when accepting a second piece of preferment[b]. The enlightened patronage of the same bishop had already filled his Cathedral with able men from Thorndike's own College, in spite of the fact that Williams himself belonged to St. John's[c]. Hacket in his Life of Williams[d] reckons no less than eleven, including the names of George Herbert, Dr. Simson, Creighton, Ferne, Duport, Scattergood, and Williamson, besides Hacket himself and Thorndike, preferred in Lincoln diocese and Cathedral by Williams from this one College. Another friend of George Herbert's, and pupil of Thorndike himself, at least a student of the College while he held College-office, also extended his patronage to him, a few years later. James Duke of Lennox, better known by his subsequent title of Duke of Richmond[e], nephew to Duke Lodowick, George Herbert's

comes chaplain to the Duke of Lennox.

[y] Thorndike was installed in the prebend 13th April, 1636 (Browne Willis, vol. ii. p. 207), and resigned it in 1640, "not liking the times" (Id., ibid.). George Herbert had held it from 1626 until his death in 1636 (Id., ibid.); Alexander Levetson, B.D., was installed into it upon Thorndike's resignation Aug. 30, 1640 (Id., ibid., and Hardy's Le Neve); and Charles Ashfordby, Thorndike's cousin (see above, p. 146, note w), had it in 1661 (Browne Willis, ibid.). It is scarcely worth remarking that Willis's reason for Thorndike's resignation is obviously futile. Thorndike accepted and sought preferment for years subsequently to this, in spite of the times. The real reason is no doubt that assigned in the text. Thorndike, it must be supposed, took a portion of his year of grace, and held both the stall and Claybrook (his second piece of preferment) together for a few months, being presented to the latter in May 1639, and not surrendering the former until 1640.

[z] The "College Preacherships were originally twelve in number, but were increased by James I. to sixteen." See Monk's Life of Bentley, c. vii. p. 138. The advantage of them was that they rendered the fellowship tenable with other preferment. Thorndike held the office until he was ejected by the Parliamentary Commissioners from his fellowship, and recovered it again when restored in 1660.

[a] Any single piece of preferment which does not exceed £30 in clear value in the King's Books is tenable with a fellowship of Trinity College, Cambridge, by the old statutes, if the fellow be a College Preacher. Any preferment exceeding that value, or any two pieces of preferment of whatever value, vacate the fellowship, after a year of grace.

[b] See the last note.

[c] This may be taken to confirm the view of the theology of Trinity College in general at this period, taken above in § 6, note t.

[d] Pt. ii. p. 42. fol. Lond. 1693. See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. iv. § 5.

[e] See above in § 4, p. 163, note p. He was Earl of March and Duke of Lennox, and created Duke of Richmond Aug. 8, 1641. His father was Esmè Stuart, who succeeded his uncle Lodowick. He died in March 1655, after he had seen three brothers die in the Royal cause, "having never had his health nor yet his spirits since the deplorable death of his beloved master," Charles I., "for the saving of whose life he had the honour to offer his own." Echard, Hist. of Engl., as quoted in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, vol. ii. lib. xiv. in Smith's

principal friend, but himself sufficiently clearsighted to continue his uncle's friendships[f], made him in or before 1641 his chaplain[g]. We have seen the Duke already[h] a student and in due time M.A. of Trinity College during Thorndike's earlier residence there as tutor and fellow, in 1625 and 1626; and his younger brothers also were students at the College in 1637. He appears indeed to have taken an especial interest in his old University, as well as in his College: both as a Privy Councillor when her welfare was at stake[i], and as a Peer when she was honoured with royal visits[j], and as a member of her Senate, when electing a chancellor[k].

Is presented to the vicarage of Claybrook in Leicestershire.

§ 8. Our prebendary appears to have devoted himself less exclusively to the University after his proctorship in 1638, and College Lectureship in 1639. From thence to 1643 he was occupied with parochial as well as academical duties, and during at least the latter part of the time seems to have served his cure in person. In May 1639, while still Lecturer, having become (as above said) a senior fellow of his College, he was presented by the Crown to the vicarage of Claybrook, near Lutterworth, in Leicestershire[l];—it does not appear by whose interest, but possibly by that of the Duke of Lennox;—and accordingly surrendered his prebendal stall at Lincoln. Of

Obituary, pp. 27, 28. He with three other noblemen offered their own heads to ransom Charles (see Collins, Peerage, vol. i. p. 179). See also Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. pp. 426, 427; and Banks, Dormant Baronage, vol. iii. p. 628. In March 164⅓ the Duke of Lennox was at Cambridge in the train of Prince Charles (Cooper, under the year). — The family were patrons throughout of Church-writers and of Churchmen. Fuller's Church History is dedicated in 1655 to Esmè son and successor of Duke James.

[f] See Izaak Walton's Life of Herbert.

[g] The Primitive Government of Churches is dedicated to the Duke of Lennox in that year by "H. Thorndike his Grace's most humble chaplain."

[h] See above, § 4. p. 163, note p.

[i] "The Lord Duke of Lenox" was one of the Privy Council present 21 June 1636, when the decision was given in favour of the right of the Archbishop of Canterbury to visit the Universities. See Cooper, vol. iii. p. 276. He was present also 12 Feb. 163⅝, to decide on a petition from the University against an undue assessment of ship-money (Id., ibid., p. 285).

[j] See note e.

[k] See above, § 5. p. 172, note e.

[l] The presentation, dated at Westminster, May 30, 1639, and addressed to Abp. Laud "ratione suspensionis Episcopi Lincolniæ," is in Rymer, vol. xx. p. 387: and the fact and date, from him, in Cole's MSS. in the Brit. Museum; and in Carter's Hist. of Univ. of Cambridge (8vo. 1753), p. 341; and in Nichols' Leicestershire, vol. iv. p. 133. Kennet (Register, p. 853), and Calamy (Life and Times of Baxter, vol. ii.), also mention Thorndike's incumbency of Claybrook, but without specifying the time. The registers of Claybrook itself anterior to 1705, are lost: as is also that of Bp. Williams at Lincoln; who however did not institute Thorndike, being suspended at the time. The parish is now in the diocese of Peterborough.

his proceedings in his parish one or two particulars have been preserved; which indicate at least anxiety to discharge the duties of his office. The want of a parsonage-house upon the living was supplied by his munificence during his three years' incumbency[m]: and so well was the work done, as to call forth the emphatic praise of his successor's Puritan ejector, a Mr. Maidwell[n], and to earn a place for a minute and detailed description in the County History[o]. We may gather from this act of liberality, that the vicar intended, at least when his house was built, to reside upon his benefice. Yet his College still claimed a portion of his time. He was chosen Hebrew Lecturer in Oct. 1640, a duty which it appears he had also discharged in some previous year; and the (not very laborious) office of Pandoxator was held by him in 1640 and 1641[p]. He refrained however, it would seem intentionally, from taking any divinity degree, in order to escape the really laborious offices of Vice-Master and Senior Dean[q]. A Visitation Sermon of Bishop Sanderson's (then rector of Newport Pagnell), preached at Grantham Oct. 8, 1641, supplies another indication of attention to his parish. It intimates, as interpreted by a note of Barlow's[r], that the services of the Church under Thorndike's direction whilst he

[m] George Herbert saved him any parallel labour in his prebend, by himself restoring the church of Layton (in Huntingdonshire). Iz. Walton's Life of Herbert.

[n] "One of the best and most beautiful parsonages in the county." See Todd's Life of Walton; and Nichols' Collections for Leicestershire, in the Biblioth. Topogr. Brit., vol. viii. pp. 1070, 1077, and Hist. of Leicestershire, vol. iv. pp. 111, 133: from the Nonconformists' Memorial in the account of Mr. Maidwell.

[o] Scil., Nichols as in last note; who gives the number and position of the various rooms in the house, &c. &c., from a terrier of the parish, dated 13 May 1708.

[p] "Oct. 13. 1640, Mr. Boreman gave over the Ebrew lecture in o^{r}. College, and Mr. Throndicke rechosen." Trin. Coll. Conclusion Book.—An account of the Pandoxatorship is in Bentley's Life by Monk, c. viii. pp. 164, 165. The word was a corruption of πανδοκεὺς, and signified the "Bursar of the Brewhouse and Bakehouse," as he was sometimes called in the earlier College books. It has been since abolished as unstatutable, and its duties merged in those of the junior bursar. —Thorndike was elected to it Oct. 2, 1640, prior to the usual time of its falling vacant; and accordingly he was re-elected at the usual time, viz. Dec. 1640, for the ensuing year.

[q] These offices could only be held by a senior who had a divinity degree. See for the fact in the text about Thorndike, the singular grace for his intended Doctor's degree in 1663.

[r] Sanderson, in his sermon (Works, vol. ii. p. 155. ed. Jacobson), complains of some "putting forward new rites and ceremonies, with scandal and without law." Bp. Barlow notes, that "the good bishop, anno 1641 only Dr., complains of some (but names none) who had done what is here complained of. And such," he adds, "were Dr. Heylin, Dr. Jeremy Taylor, *Mr. Thorndike*, Dr. Pocklington, &c." All these, including Sanderson, were or had been beneficed in the dioceses of Lincoln or Ely in 1641.

was at Claybrook gave offence to some Puritan neighbours. Nothing however is said of the particular "rites," which Sanderson thought needless and "without law." And the association of Jeremy Taylor in the charge, coupled with the gossiping nature of the one definite accusation brought against the latter[s] while Vicar of Uppingham, at the period to which the whole of the present matter relates, renders it likely, that the story is to be estimated at the ordinary value of similar accusations in times of party excitement; and that Sanderson, if he really intended to include Thorndike in his censure, had no more solid grounds upon which to do so, than decent reverence and pious conformity would in those times supply. The opinions and position of Sanderson himself at the time,—disposed as he was throughout by kindliness of temper, and by the casuistical turn of his mind, rather than (as was Thorndike's own case) by firm grasp of distinct principle, to compromise all minor points in dispute,—point to a similar conclusion[t].

And to the rectory of Barley in Hertfordshire.

§ 9. From Claybrook, in June 1642, Thorndike was transferred to the incumbency of Barley in Hertfordshire, vacant by the preferment of Dr. Brownrigg to the see of Exeter, and therefore for that turn in the gift of the Crown[u]; a liv-

[s] Taylor was at Uppingham 1638—1644: see Heber's Life, ed. Eden, pp. xix., xxiv.: and the gossip about his imposing penance on one Mrs. Turner, ibid., p. xx. note w.

[t] Sanderson, it must be remembered, was in 1641 the Sanderson of his former not of his latter self. See e. g. Hammond's Letters publ. in the Ecclesiastic, vol. vii. p. 284, xiii. p. 331, xiv. p. 158. In that very year 1641 he was one of the mixed committee of prelates and clergy, mainly of the Calvinist or at least anti-Laudian party, appointed by the House of Lords to consider the reformation of the Prayer-book, who among other things demurred to candlesticks upon the altar and to credence tables. See Walton's Life of Sanderson, in the latter's Works, ed. Jacobson, vol. vi. pp. 300, 301; and Collier, vol. ii. p. 799. Possibly however, after all, Barlow and not Sanderson is Thorndike's accuser.

[u] The presentation of "Herbertus Thorndike A.M. ad rectoriam Eccl. Paroch. de Barly in com. Hertford:" &c. "per promot. Radulhpi Brownrigg S. T. P. ad Episcop. Exon: vacantem, et ad nostram presentationem pro hac vice spectantem," is in Rymer (vol. xx. p. 544), dated at York, June 9, 1642. The advowson of the living belonged at that time to the Bishop of Ely. Andrew Lermont was presented upon the very same June 9, to the vicarage of "Clebrook" in Leicestershire, then in the diocese of Lincoln (Rymer, ibid., p. 545); and instituted to it, July 2, 1642 (Bp. Wynniffe's Register at Lincoln). And Thorndike was instituted to Barley the very same day, viz. July 2, 1642 (Newcourt, vol. i. p. 800). Barley was then in the diocese of London (now of Rochester); and is styled by Newcourt both rectory and vicarage. It is now a rectory, and Thorndike in the parish Registers calls himself "rector" of the parish. See also Kennet (Register, p. 618), Carter (Hist. of Univ. of Cambridge, p. 341), Chauncy (Hist. of Hertfordshire, p. 79), and Walker (Sufferings of Clergy, Pt. ii. p. 160): the third of whom, Chauncy, has mistaken or misprinted 1640 for 1642, as the date of Thorn-

ing of larger value than Claybrook[v], and probably recommended also by its closer vicinity to Cambridge, from which it is but thirteen miles distant upon the old high-road to London. As Thorndike retained his fellowship with both livings, and as he appears to have personally discharged the duties of the latter[x] (and possibly, as has been said, also of the former) parish, it was no doubt convenient to him to be thus enabled to divide his time more easily between his College and his parsonage: and the more so, that in the close of 1642 he was elected to a College office, which was certainly not a merely titular one, viz. that of Senior Bursar[y].

Publishes his earliest theological writings.

§ 10. His earliest theological writings belong to this period of his life, when he had attained the mature age of 43. His tract on the Primitive Government of Churches was published at Cambridge in 1641[z]; and that upon the Public Service of God, at the same place in 1642[a]. Both therefore were the fruits, either of his parochial life at Claybrook, or of

dike's presentation to Barley; which has led Carter into a needless and groundless conjecture of two presentations, one by the Bishop of Ely, another two years after by the King. Carter is also needlessly puzzled by the circumstance, that the Crown presented at all, instead of the Bishop of Ely; overlooking the fact, that the living was vacated by the promotion of the incumbent to a bishopric: but corrects an equally needless difficulty made by Walker, as to the possibility of Thorndike's retaining his fellowship with the living. That he did retain his fellowship, not merely for a year, as Walker supposed, but (except as being forcibly kept out of it from 1646 to 1660) until he resigned in 1667, is evident by the Bursar's Books at Trinity College. Bryan Walton indeed boldly styles him "Socius Coll. Trin." in the preface to the Polyglot Bible in 1657. He himself speaks of "re-entering and settling" his College in 1660 (in his letter to Sancroft of August $\frac{17}{27}$. 1660, above No. XII.); and he is described as fellow of the College in a formal University grace in 1663 (see below). Twells in his Life of Pocock speaks of Thorndike as "recovering" his fellowship in 1660, and dividing "the remainder of his time" (which is of course inaccurate, as he resigned in 1667 and died in 1672) between that and his prebend. And Carter correctly but somewhat vaguely observes, that the fellows of Trinity College held "livings of considerable value with their fellowships, at least the seniors, as" Thorndike "was." He had held the living of Claybrook previously for three years with his fellowship. And see above, § 7, note a.

[v] At least it is so now; although Claybrook is not a poor living.

[x] It appears by the parish registers of Barley, that "Herbert Thorndike" was there as "rector" from at least August 4, 1642 (one month after his induction) until at least June 25, 1643. In the Registers of Baptisms and of Burials, the last entries of his predecessor are dated June 30, 1642. The first of Thorndike's in the former, is dated Aug. 4, 1642; and in the latter, Aug. 13, 1642; and his last entry in the former, June 25, 1643; and in the latter, May 14, 1643. In the Register of Marriages, his name, as "rector of this parish," is written against the year 1642; as it is likewise in the two other Registers, immediately before the first of his own entries: but no marriages occurred in the parish during his incumbency, or in 1643; and those that occurred in 1644, are entered in a different handwriting. From information kindly communicated by the Rev. R. A. Gordon, now rector of the parish.

[y] From the College Books.

[z] See note B, at the end of the Life.

[a] See ibid.

the intervals of residence at the University by which it was broken. Both also were very seasonable for the date of their publication. The former synchronizes with the first overt acts of direct attack upon the very framework of the Church: with the Root and Branch Bill for abolishing episcopacy, urged on by the fierce polemics of Smectymnuus and of Milton, and with the attempt to suppress Deans and Chapters in May 1641. For the latter of these institutions, in subordination to Bishops, it offers a Scriptural, reasonable, and moderate plea; while it defends episcopacy itself under the view, identified at the time with Ussher's name, and urged upon that ground by Baxter and his friends at the Restoration, of a president in a council of presbyters, possessed of a negative but not a sole power[b]. Bishop Patrick has recorded of himself in his Autobiography (an. 1654), that the arguments of this, and of Hammond's tract upon Ignatius, convinced him of the inadequacy of his own already received Presbyterian ordination, and led him to seek a better title to the ministry at the hands of Bishop Hall. The second tract contains a defence upon similar grounds, and urged with similar moderation, of the principle of liturgical services,—against the extravagant Puritan delusion (then recently advanced with more than usual pertinacity by Smectymnuus in controversy with Bishop Hall) of immediately inspired prayer,—and of the frame and order of our own Liturgy, and of the ministry appointed in the Church in order to it; all at that time in imminent danger of the destruction in which they were so shortly to be involved. The general style and literary merit of these tracts is aptly described by their author himself, when he speaks of one of them, as "work cut out, to be made up at leisure[c]:" a criticism singularly coinciding with the judgment of Jeremy Taylor[d], formed

[b] Jeremy Taylor's work on Episcopacy was published in 1642. A comparison of it with Thorndike's first tract will shew at once, what prompted Baxter's feeling respecting the latter (as shewn in his words quoted below in note f). That tract would be classed rather in popular estimation with Ussher's tract on the Original of Bishops and Metropolitans (see Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 5), and the rest of the "Certain Brief Treatises written by diverse learned men," Reynolds, Andrews, Brerewood, &c., in defence of "the primitive institution of Episcopacy," published at Oxford, also in 1641.—The University of Cambridge petitioned the Parliament in favour of Deans and Chapters in May 1641 (see the Petition at length in Collier, Ch. Hist., vol. ii. Append. no. cxvii., from Rushworth).

[c] Advert. to Reader, prefixed to Service of God at Rel. Assemblies.

[d] "I have not seene Mr. Thorndike's booke" (scil. the Epilogue). "You

only upon Thorndike's earlier writings, and of Barrow[e] at a later date, when it was less deserved. They are in truth more distinguished for learning, ingenuity, and depth, than for lucidity either of arrangement or of language, or for elegance of style. Their theological tone is singularly moderate. Yet every one of the principles which would be so characterized, was maintained by Thorndike to the close of his life, and at periods when his condemnation of Sectaries and Nonconformists was most uncompromising. Nor do they afford any real reason for the anticipations of Baxter and his friends in 1661, that their writer would view the Presbyterian party with indulgence[f]. The limited view of episcopal power, which maintains in conjunction with it the Divine right of a council of the presbyters of the diocese, and reduces the bishop's authority to that of a president with a negative voice[g],—the assertion of the original right of laymen to

make me desirous of it, because you call it elaborate: but I like not the title nor the subject: and the man is indeed a very good and a learned man, but I have not seen much prosperity in his writings: but if he have so well chosen the questions, *there is no peradventure but he hath tumbled into his heape many choice materials.*" Jer. Taylor to Evelyn, dated at Portmore June 4, 1659; in Heber's Life of Taylor, p. lxxxiii. ed. Eden; and since Heber wrote, also in Evelyn's Memoirs and Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 78. 8vo. Lond. 1827.

[e] In his tract on the Unity of the Church (Barrow's Works, vol. i. p. 776), Barrow answers certain arguments, "advanced," he says, "*with great diligence, although not with like perspicuity*, by a late divine of great repute." Barrow speaks of the Epilogue, and writes after Thorndike's death, but his criticism is more applicable to the earlier tracts.

[f] At the Savoy Conference in 1661, says Baxter, "Mr. Thorndike spake once a few impertinent passionate words, *confuting the opinion which we had received of him from his first writings*, and confirming that which his second and last writings had given us of him" (Baxter, Life of himself, ed. by Sylvester, Pt ii. p. 364). The angry words at the beginning of this sentence, which are justly termed "spiteful" by Mr. Brewer (Introd. to his edition of Thorndike's Rt. of the Ch. in Chr. St. in 1841), will be estimated at their true value by any one who is acquainted with the violent and hasty temper of their writer, sorely tried no doubt, but far from being controuled by Christian meekness, as he himself at the close of his life most nobly confesses and laments. In earlier tracts, as his Disputations on Church-Government in 1659 (p. 197), Baxter truly states, that Thorndike "was for a more regular sort of episcopacy." And both on Church-Government, and on questions of discipline, the two were so nearly together in principle, that it is sad to think how widely the acerbities of party division kept them asunder.

[g] See the passages of Thorndike's writings, of all dates, quoted in the note l to his Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxiii.—The wild scheme, embodied in a bill and laid before Parliament in the same year 1641 by Williams, Thorndike's early patron, is worth noticing here: first, for its resemblance to Thorndike's scheme (as also to those current at the Restoration), in proposing that the Dean and Chapter with a council of twelve should be "assistants" to the Bishop in each diocese; but, next, for the important differences between the two, in that Williams forgot two most important features in Thorndike's plan,

preach (and, as he subsequently added[h], to baptize also), a right limited by the paramount principle of the unity of the Church, and to be exercised only in subordination to the bishop who is the centre of that unity[i],—the excuse, which is made for the foreign reformers in their disregard of episcopacy[k], advanced a few years afterwards to a distinct assertion of the right of those reformers under their circumstances to appoint a new ministry for themselves[l],—these and similar positions advanced in these tracts, as they are not inconsistent with the severe censure passed, both in the tracts themselves and throughout his life, upon the Presbyterians and Sectaries, or with the opinions held by him at all times respecting the Church and Sacraments, so are repeated by him even in his latest writings. Be this however as it may, and whatever may be said of Baxter, certainly there is nothing in any of Thorndike's publications to excuse the dishonest conduct of the London ministers in 1646; who deliberately and in print quoted as a defence of lay-elders passages of these books of Thorndike's, in which one of his express objects was to disprove them[m].

Is ejected from Barley.

§ 11. The time however was now arrived, when heavier misfortunes were to befall our divine, than either the general and measured innuendos of a Visitation Sermon, or the groundless imputations of shameless controversialists. His occupation of the quiet parsonage of Barley lasted a little less than a year[n]. It did not interfere with such College avocations as fell to his position of a Senior Fellow. And we find him accordingly appointed, upon April 23, 1643, "to go with the Master" (Comber) "to the election at Westminster," as

viz. that the assistants should be necessarily clergymen, and that the Bishop should retain an absolute negative. See Disc. of Forbearance &c., c. xxiii. note k. H. More (as quoted above in § 1, note e) declared his approbation of Thorndike's "platform" of Church government, if he were to "venture" upon any as of Divine authority.

[h] See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xix. § 12; and the note there.

[i] Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. ix. § 4: Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. xi. § 4. And see the references in the Index to Thorndike's works, under the word *Layman*.

[k] Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xiv. § 3. The note in c. xiv. § 3. of this tract does not truly represent Thorndike's sentiments. He expressly affirms the right of the foreign reformers to be deemed a "Church" for all essentials, in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 61. And also in his Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xv., in 1670.

[l] Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 56—61: publ. in 1649.

[m] See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 43, and the references in the note there.

[n] See above in § 9, note x.

"assistant," in order to the usual annual election from Westminster School of scholars of the College[o]. Nor probably did the amount of residence upon a cure then held to be reasonable, in any degree interrupt his contemporaneous residence in College. But his parochial duties, whatever their extent, were now to be violently brought to an end. The civil war formally commenced in August, 1642. And as the county of Herts was in the district of the Parliamentary party, and was one of the seven "associated counties," the ordinance for sequestering the estates, temporal or ecclesiastical, of "delinquents," passed upon March 31, 1643[p], which contained an especial clause against such as contributed plate or money to the royal cause, was not likely to be long in reaching Barley, or to be slow of application to the royalist chaplain of one of the royal family of Stuart, or to the bursar of a college which had sent its plate to the king. Thorndike accordingly seems to have quitted his living in the month of July in the last-named year[q]; although there is no record of the precise circumstances, which terminated his residence upon it. And a Mr. Nathaniel Ball of King's College, Cambridge, we learn, was then or shortly after intruded in his stead[r].

And wrongfully kept out of the Mastership of Sidney Sussex College.

§ 12. The storm that was lowering over the Church pursued him also in the University. The "ordinance for regulating" the University of Cambridge passed the Parliament upon January 22, $164\frac{3}{4}$[s]: but the Parliamentary soldiers had already occupied Cambridge, as a post of defence against the

[o] From the Conclusion Book of Trinity College. No names however are recorded in the Alumni Westmonasterienses as chosen from Westminster to Cambridge in this year, 1643. Busby had not long before become the master of the school.—It may illustrate the amount of residence required of fellows of Colleges in the end of the previous century, to mention, that in the Additional Statutes of Trinity College Oxford, in 1558, fellows who hold cure of souls with their fellowships, are adjured in the most solemn terms to do their duty personally, by preaching *once* themselves in the year, and causing *four* other Sermons to be preached in the parish either by themselves or others.

[p] Scobell, Pt. i. pp. 37—40. It was repeated and explained, and additional powers given, upon Aug. 19, 1643, and May 22, 1644 (Id., ibid., pp. 49—52, 70—73). And the ordinance respecting the University of Cambridge in the following January, was also "for removing scandalous ministers in the seven associated counties," of which Hertford was one (Id., ibid., p. 61). The College plate and money were sent to the king in August 1642.

[q] See above in § 9, note x.

[r] So Calamy, Life and Times of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 362; in his list of Ejected and Silenced Ministers (scil. of the Non-conformists in 1661).

[s] Scobell, Pt. i. p. 61; and at length in Heywood and Wright, vol. ii.

Royalist army, and had commenced a "reformation" of the University, as early as the previous August[t]; the month subsequent to that, in which Thorndike seems to have finally quitted Barley. And a scene of violence, one among many, shortly occurred, in which his interests were nearly concerned. In September 1643 the headship of Sidney Sussex College became vacant. Dr. Samuel Ward, the Master, was "put out" of his office by the Parliamentary party, and detained a prisoner, but died opportunely before his ejection was consummated[u]. The fellows of the College seized the occasion, and assembled (upon September 13) to secure (as it would seem) by a speedy election their legal right of choosing his successor. What followed, we have described to us from the testimony of one of the principal sufferers in it[v]. Seth Ward (Thorndike's young friend of

[t] See Walker's Sufferings, Pt. i. p. 108: and Cooper's Annals of Cambr. under the year. The Parliamentary army was in Cambridge also in March 164$\frac{3}{4}$.

[u] Ward died Sept. 6 (Worthington's Diary, p. 19). Fuller (Hist. of Univ. of Cambridge, p. 324. ed. Prickett and Wright) reckons Dr. Ward, who had been one of the deputies sent by King James I. to the Synod of Dort, and certainly did not belong to Laud's school in the Church, as one of those "put out" of their headships at Cambridge by the parliamentary faction. He adds, that "he (in effect but a prisoner) dyed a natural death," and that "Richard Minshull, Fellow, since D. D.," was "chosen by the society into the void place." Walker (Sufferings, Pt. ii. p. 158) gives a similar account of Ward's deprivation and death, and of the election of Minshull; and narrates also, what Fuller in his brevity omits, the unjust exclusion of Thorndike.

[v] From Walter Pope's Life of Seth Ward, c. iv. pp. 14, 15; of course upon information derived from Seth Ward himself. For the then number of fellows, see an order of Dr. Collins and Dr. Ward dated in 1634, in the Documents publ. by the Cambridge Commissioners in 1852, vol. iii. p. 591. The account from the Acta Collegii Sidn., p. 40, is given in the Cambridge Portfolio, pp. 388, 389; from Baker's MSS. vol. x. p. 422, in Harl. MSS. 7037. It differs mainly in the total number that voted: and is obviously so drawn up as to make an actual majority for Minshull. It makes the number for each candidate to be five, if we include Parsons upon Thorndike's side; and asserts the eleventh, Hodges, who plainly was in the first instance also for Thorndike, to have been ultimately neutral. Two fellowships it would seem were either vacant, or filled by probationers, or their holders absent on the occasion. The account runs thus—"Imprimis—Before the election of Mr. Minshull to be Master of this College, Mr. Seth Ward, in presence of Mr. Garbut, Minsull" (sic), "Pendreth, Lawson, Hodges, Seyliard, Gibson, Matthews, Bertie, made a Protestation against the election (which was by statute to be perfected before 12 of the clock at noon that day) because Mr. Panson" (sic) "was taken away by soldiers sent from the Committee, so that he could not give his voice with others. Notwithstanding the rest of the Fellows proceeded on, and Mr. Minshull was elected and admitted before 12 of the clock that day. 2. There were present at the election, Mr. Garbut, Minshull, Lawson, Hodges, Seyliard, Bertie, the other withdrawing themselves and refusing to repair into the Chapel again, when they were sent for to give their suffrages. 3. Five of the forementioned Fellows, viz. Mr. Garbut, &c., consented in Mr. Minshull, and Mr. Hodges only suspended his vote, giving for no body." This is obviously the account

five years previous, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury and a scientific man of considerable note), "with nine of" the fellows of the College, "gave their suffrages" for Thorndike, although belonging to another society[w]. Mr. Minshull, a fellow, was proposed by the opposite party; but could obtain only eight votes, including his own. The numbers thus stated are obviously incorrect, as there were at the time only thirteen fellowships altogether in the College. But the proportion of the two parties to one another is in effect confirmed by the formal statement drawn up by the College itself, and given below in the note. And Thorndike accordingly was on the point of being elected to the headship. But a sharp eye and an active hand, shackled by no scruples of conscience, were presiding over Parliamentary interests in Cambridge at this time. Close by in the town sat the committee of the associated counties. And on that committee, and actually present in Cambridge in September 1643[x], was no less a person than the member for the town, and the parliamentary "colonel of the Huntingdon district," himself too a member of Sidney Sussex College, Oliver Cromwell. No wonder therefore, that precisely at the moment when force was needed, in little matters as well as in great, it was at hand. While the fellows, we are told, were still "at the election,"—engaged, it will be observed, according to the customary solemnity of such occasions, in the celebration of the holy communion,—"a band of soldiers rushed in upon them, and forcibly carried away Mr. Parsons[y], one of those fellows who voted for Mr.

drawn up after Minshull became Master, as giving the formal view of the transaction under which the College now wished it to appear. The statutes of the College, it seems, in case of an equality of votes, devolve the election upon the three seniors (Smith's Cambr. Portfolio, ibid.).

[w] That it was no uncommon thing to elect fellows of Trinity College to the vacant headships of other Colleges, see above, § 5. p. 175, note i. Thorndike's friend Creighton obtained a Royal mandate appointing him Head of Catharine Hall in 1635, but the fellows were too quick for him and elected Brownrigg, upon which Creighton gave way. See Cooper, under the year.

[x] Carlyle's Letters and Speeches of Cromwell, vol. i. pp. 223, 225. 3rd ed. 1850.

[y] "Samuel Pawson" (obviously the same with Walter Pope's Mr. Parsons) "had been plucked from the communion as he was ready to receive the holy sacrament before the solemn election of a Master of this College" (Sidney Sussex), "and thrown into jail. He was also actually dispossessed of his fellowship" (viz. at the general ejection shortly afterwards). So Walker, Sufferings, Pt. ii. p. 159: who goes on to say, that this Pawson or Parsons afterwards changed sides, and accepted a fellowship at St. John's at the hands of the Parliamentary party. Walker's authority for these facts is the Querela Cantabrigiensis.

Thorndike; so that the number of suffrages for Mr. Minshull, his own being accounted for one, were equal to those Mr. Thorndike had. Upon which Mr. Minshull was admitted Master, the other eight only protesting against it; being ill-advised," says our authority, "for they should have adhered to their votes." The open violence of the soldiers at Cambridge was followed by an equally oppressive court-intrigue at Oxford. "Two of the Fellows, whereof Mr. Ward was one, went to" the latter place, "and brought thence a mandamus from the King, commanding Mr. Minshull and the fellows of Sidney College to repair thither and give an account of their proceedings as to that election. This mandamus or peremptory summons was fixed upon the Chapel-door by Mr. Linnet, who was afterwards a fellow of Trinity College, but at that time attended on Mr. Thorndike. On the other side, Mr. Bertie, a kinsman of the Earl of Lindsey[z], being one of those who voted for Mr. Minshull, was also sent to Oxford on his behalf;" and "by the assistance and mediation" of the Earl, "procured an order from the King to confirm Mr. Minshull's election[a]." Under these circumstances, finding both parties joined against him, Thorndike prudently gave way to a compromise, and Minshull retained the headship: paying however his opponent, and "the rest of the fellows, the charges they had been at in the management of the affair, amounting to" what was then the considerable sum of "about one hundred pounds;" and "corrobo-

[z] Robert Bertie was brother to the then Earl of Lindsey: see an account of him in Collins' Peerage, vol. ii. p. 15; and in Walker, Sufferings, Pt. ii. p. 159. Montague Bertie Lord Lindsey was one of the four noblemen who offered themselves to be put to death instead of Charles. We learn from Whitlocke (Memorials, p. 67), that having been taken prisoner by the Parliament after the battle of Edgehill, where his father was killed, he was released and joined the King at Oxford upon August 12, 1643.

[a] Baker (as above in note u) says, "Mr. Thorndike the other candidate seems to have appealed: for amongst the Master's papers there is a copy of the King's Letters, dated Nov. 28, an. Regni 19" (1643), "prohibiting any further molestation of the said Richard Minshull, &c." (quoted in Cambridge Portfolio, p. 388, note 38).—Both Carter (Hist. of Univ. of Cambr., p. 378), and Walker (Sufferings, Pt. ii. p. 160), as well as W. Pope, mention the election and unjust exclusion of Thorndike, and correctly attribute it to the Parliamentary faction. Chalmers (Biogr. Dict., art. Thorndike) lays it upon 'court-intrigue." But it is obvious, from the facts above detailed, that the king was only so far answerable for it, that in this, as in other matters of more general importance, Charles sacrificed his friends in the vain hope of conciliating his foes; and that the persons directly concerned in the business were the Parliamentary faction, then uppermost in Cambridge.

rating" his bad title in 1660, when usurping powers were in danger of being called to a restitution, "by the broad seal[b]" of a formal royal grant.

And ejected from his fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge.

§ 13. To the loss of promotion thus unjustly wrested from him, Thorndike was next to add the loss of what he still retained of his former preferments, viz. his fellowship. Cambridge was at this period far more unfortunately situated than the sister University. It had the unhappiness not only of lying within the associated counties[c], but of being so placed on their northern and western side towards the royal armies, as to become necessarily the head quarters of parliamentary troops. It was consequently occupied by soldiers as early as February 164$\frac{2}{3}$, and both town and castle fortified in the following July; and it continued a garrison town on the rebel side from thence until 1647[d]. The committee for managing the affairs of the associated counties sat, as has been said, within its walls[e]; and above all it had Cromwell for one of its borough members, and was the scene of his most active measures in the early part of the civil war. It was the natural result of these untoward circumstances, that the University suffered severely, even before any direct legislative attack was made upon her by the Parliament. The anger moreover of the fanatic party was inflamed beyond bounds by the steady and courageous refusal of the Heads of Colleges to sanction any gift of money to the Parliament[f], preceded and aggravated by the well-timed and skilfully managed conveyance to the King of both their plate and money by the same Heads with their Colleges, of which Cromwell's shrewd and active generalship could intercept but

[b] So Walter Pope. It is dated Jan. 25, 166$\frac{6}{7}$, and is mentioned by Cole in a MS. note to his copy of Carter's Cambridge, vol. ii. p. 378, in the Bodleian Library.

[c] In December 1642, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, and Hertfordshire, were associated by ordinance of Parliament, in a defensive league against the King. On May 26, 1643, the county of Huntingdon, and on Sept. 20 of the same year the county of Lincoln, were added to the association (Husband's Collection of Ordinances, p. 807, Scobell, Cooper).

[d] The fortifications were raised about July 1643, and dismantled in July 1647. Cooper, under these years.

[e] From August 10, 1643. Cooper, vol. iii. p. 355.

[f] "On Good-Friday, March 30, 1643," in spite of Lord Grey of Warke and Cromwell with their soldiers, who surrounded the "consistory" and kept the assembled Heads there until past midnight, a formal refusal was determined upon to the demand of the Parliament, as against "their conscience." Quer. Cantab., Walker, Smith's Cambr. Portfol., p. 384.

a small portion[g]. In the latter part of 1643, accordingly, advantage was taken of the general ordinance for sequestrating delinquents' estates (passed March 31 of that year), to seize upon the lands both of the University and the Colleges. A petition, however, from the University, of Oct. 7. 1643, and another to the same effect upon Dec. 5, of the same year, from Thorndike's own College, the property of which especially suffered from its being dispersed throughout many widely distant counties, backed by a letter from the Earl of Manchester, then commanding at Cambridge for the rebels, obtained in the following January from the Parliament an ordinance restraining the evil[h]. They wished indeed to puritanize but not to destroy the University: but insult and oppression continued, although open robbery was for the time stopped. Not merely were Commencements suspended, and Latin sermons given up in order to avoid fanatic riots[i]: not merely were subscriptions to articles and canons forbidden, and surplices thrown off, by ordinance of Parliament[k]; and the Prayer-book in the University Church torn, with Cromwell's approbation, by the riotous soldiers[l]: not only was St. John's College converted into a prison, and other Colleges used as barracks[m]: but the brutal and insolent ignorance of the fanatic William Dowsing was let loose upon the College Chapels, to destroy and profane them at his pleasure; and the weeks that included and followed Christmas-day, in the year 1643, were chosen for the deed[n]. Into this scene Thorndike had returned, when driven from Barley. Two years more elapsed, passed in tribulation and anxiety, and amidst the sufferings of his friends and brother loyalists, before the vengeance of the Parliament, which fell first upon more obnoxious persons, reached him in his College. Upon January 22, 164$\frac{3}{4}$, as has been said, the ordinance was passed for

[g] See the details in Cooper, under August 1642. Thorndike's intimate friend, Barnabas Oley, took an active share in the exploit.

[h] See the documents in Cooper under the date.

[i] See Cooper, under dates of June 12 and Sept. 19, and "the day before Easter term," 1643. The Querela Cantabrigiensis is the original authority for all these facts.

[k] Passed in January 164$\frac{3}{4}$: Heywood and Wright, vol. ii. pp. 454, 455.

[l] Quer. Cantab.

[m] Ibid., or in Walker.

[n] The extracts from Dowsing's Journal relating to Cambridge, are in Cooper, vol. iii. pp. 364—367. The dates (for town and University) are Dec. 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, and Jan. 1, 2, 3.

"regulating the University of Cambridge, and for removing of scandalous ministers in the seven associated counties[o]." Its provisions were of the most arbitrary and the most sweeping character. The Earl of Manchester was empowered by it to appoint committees, which should have authority "to call before them all Provosts, Masters, and Fellows of Colleges, all Students, and members of the University, and all ministers in any county of the association, and all schoolmasters, that are scandalous in their lives, or ill-affected to the Parliament, ... or that have deserted their ordinary places of residence, not being employed in the service of the King and Parliament." And such persons as were certified to him by these committees, with the charges against them, the Earl by his own sole authority was empowered to eject from their places, and sequester their estates, leaving their family (if any) a scanty pension of a fifth part of the value; and to appoint whom he would in their room, subject only to the approval of the Westminster assembly then sitting. He was authorized also to administer the Covenant, "upon such penalties as are or shall be assigned by the Parliament." Under these ample powers the Earl commenced his task, with the aid of a committee, composed of persons otherwise wholly unknown, who sat at Trinity College from March 15, 164$\frac{4}{5}$ until at least August 1645[p]. By their instrumentality, (to quote the bitter antithesis of the *Querela Cantabrigiensis*[q],) since he could not make the University rebel, he proceeded by a thorough change to create a rebellious University. His first step had been to summon all fellows into residence by March 10, and to eject, upon pretence of contumacy or desertion, those who failed to appear[r]. They who escaped from this ordeal, were dealt with upon various pretences, as occasion served: expulsions continuing from the beginning of 1644 until at least the latter part of 1645[s], and probably a little longer; and the administering and refusal of an oath of discovery[t], or of the

[o] See above in § 12, note s.

[p] See Cooper, vol. iii. pp. 372, 382, 393. Upon Oct. 17, 1645, the House of Commons took upon themselves to see that vacant fellowships and scholarships were filled; an office, which they discharged until April 11, 1650 (Cooper, ibid., pp. 397, 432.)

[q] p. 23, ed. 1647.

[r] See Walker's Sufferings; and from him Heywood and Wright, and Cooper.

[s] As e. g. in Thorndike's own case. And see Walker's Sufferings, Pt. i. p. 114, Pt. ii. p. 162.

[t] The evidence in favour of this seems fairly put by Walker (Sufferings, Pt. i. p. 113). But he has overlooked a conclusive proof of the truth of the accusation, and one to which there can be no reply, viz. that express authority

Covenant, supplying a ground of ejection where any other was wanting. The result corresponded with such measures. Of sixteen Heads of Colleges, eleven were expelled at once, two removed by death, two more were subsequently expelled, and only one retained his place until the Restoration. Of fellows, 204, i. e. something more than half, were expelled; a number verified by the actual list of names, but including one or two of those who suffered under the subsequent "purification" of the University (in 1649 and 1650) by means of the Engagement, so called. Of the foundation of Trinity College, the Master and forty-six[u] out of the sixty fellows, and three out of the four chaplains, either were ejected or withdrew from College during the earlier two years. Dr. Comber seems to have quitted the mastership some time in 1644[v]. And fifteen of the fellows were ejected as early as April 8 of the same year[x]. But the entire list of expulsions was not complete until at least September 1645, on the 22nd of which month it appears that but one sworn senior remained in the College[y]. Thorndike's own name was not

for the administering such an oath was given in the second of the ordinances for sequestrating delinquents' estates, 19 Aug. 1643, in Scobell, Pt. i. pp. 49—52. Εἰ ἐδύνατο καὶ ἐβούλετο, πέπραχεν, is a good canon of evidence. That the fact was doubted, or denied, see Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge University by Prickett and Wright, sect. viii. § 35, 36. pp. 320, 321.

[u] The list drawn up by Barwick (see Barwick's Life of Barwick), and published by Bruno Ryves at the end of the second edition of the Querela Cantabrigiensis (8vo. Lond. 1647), is the foundation of those in Walker's Sufferings, and in Carter's Hist. of Cambridge University; both of whom enlarge and correct it. None of the three give the precise date of each ejection, and therefore antedate Thorndike's (among others) by a year or more. There are mentioned in the Querela 38 Fellows, in Walker 44, in Carter 46, and in all of them 3 chaplains or conducts. Cooper, Hist. of Cambr., vol. iii. p. 379, adds no new names, but speaks of "about fifty" fellows being ejected. There is a list also, but a somewhat imperfect one, in the Gough MS. already quoted (see above in § 3, note h). Lloyd (Memoirs of Loyal Martyrs, p. 449), in his account of Dean Comber, mentions Thorndike's ejection.

[v] Dr. Love was appointed Master 17 January 164$\frac{4}{5}$; but Mr. Thomas Hill became so in April 1645. Cooper, vol. iii. p. 378. note 2, and the Admission Book of Undergraduates at Trin. Coll.

[x] Cooper, vol. iii. p. 374, note 2; and Walker, Pt. ii. p. 160.

[y] An ordinance of Parliament of that date (quoted in Cooper, vol. iii. p. 379, note 2), sets forth, that "by the ejectment of divers of the fellows of Trinity College in Cambridge, and others withdrawing themselves, as also by the death of the late Vice-Master, Mr. Barton, of the eight seniors .. there is but one sworn senior in the College," and proceeds to appoint Dr. Metcalf and Dr. Pratt, firstly fellows, in the room of Mr. Marshall and Mr. Nevill, and then seniors. Four more seniors were made by ordinance of Parliament on Nov. 7, 1645 (Cooper under the date): which obviously completed the number of eight, as this same ordinance authorizes "the Master and eight seniors" to proceed to elect into the vacant fellowships. A Mr. Rhodes was also senior fellow from 1640 until forbidden to act in 1649 by ordinance of Parliament; and on July 11, 1646, Mr. Rolls

actually removed from the boards of the College buttery until May 18, 1646[z]; but as he did not receive his stipend as College preacher or as fellow for the fourth quarter of the year ending in Michaelmas 1645[a], and as it seems he was not the one senior fellow still reckoned as such in the September of the last-named year[b], he probably was one of the seniors likewise mentioned in that month as "having withdrawn themselves."

Is reduced to great poverty.

§ 14. But little is recorded of his personal fortunes for the space of five or six years after his expulsion from Cambridge, viz. from about 1646 to 1652. That in common with the other clergy he was reduced to great poverty, may be readily conjectured. It is proved by the fact (testified by the College Books), that not only were his arrears of stipend as College preacher from Midsummer 1645 to Midsummer 1646, his dividend for 1645 as fellow (£25), and another small sum due to him for 1646 under the name of "livery," paid to him, whether from compassion, or from a tardy sense of honesty, in 1648; but that in 1649 and 1650, and again in 1653 and 1654, gratuities of £50 for each of the two former, and £25 for each of the two latter years, were conferred upon him by his College. And we find his name also in the list of divines and scholars relieved at this time from the bountiful purse of Lord Scudamore[c]. The Parliament indeed endeavoured to palliate the injustice and evil of the ejection of the Church-clergy by allowing the commissioners to assign a fifth of their former preferments as a pension to their families[d]. And Cromwell in 1656 converted the contingent, in certain cases, into an absolute right, and in favour of the clergy themselves.

was chosen senior in place of Mr. Adams, deceased. The one sworn senior therefore in Sept. 1645 would appear to have been either Adams or Rhodes, and not Thorndike.

[z] From the College Books.

[a] Ibid.

[b] See note y.

[c] Fuller in his Worthies (Herefordshire, p. 47. Lond. fol. 1662) tells us, that "John Skudamore, created by King Charles Viscount Sligo in Ireland, was for some years employed leiger Embassadour in France, and during the tyranny of the Protectorial times kept his secret loyalty to his sovereign, hospitality to his family, and charity to the distressed clergy, whom he bountifully relieved." A list of those whom he thus assisted, in which Thorndike's name occurs, is quoted by Kennet (Register, p. 861) from Edw. Gibson (afterw. Bp. Gibson of London), in his View of the Ancient and Present State of the Churches of Door, Home, Lucy, and Hemsted, endowed by Lord Scudamore, with some Memoirs of that ancient Family, p. 110. Lond. 4to. 1727.

[d] By the ordinances of 19 Aug. 1643, 22 January 164$\frac{3}{4}$, and 8 Sept. 1645. Cromwell's Act is that for Quiet Enjoying of Sequestered Parsonages, in Scobell, Pt. ii. p. 511.

But Thorndike, as an unmarried fellow, had no claim to the earlier boon. And the assertion of Dr. Calamy[e], in itself not very probable, that the intruder at Barley "punctually paid" him the appointed fifth, is rendered doubly suspicious, by the fact, that it did not accrue to him at all until thirteen years after his ejection from that living. His elder brother Francis however, who succeeded to his father's property on his death in 1644, and became thereby possessed of a good estate in Lincolnshire, was able at least to keep him from extreme necessity. Yet that he actually suffered from poverty, is plain, not only by the relief afforded him by his College and by Lord Scudamore, as just mentioned, but also by his own letters of a later date[f]. He was driven indeed at one time to the desperate expedient of attempting to qualify for the practice of physic[g]; a project however which speedily came to nothing. It appears also, that he shared in another of the burdens laid upon the Church-clergy at this time, in company with his constant friends Oley and Thurscross: all three being assailed by false and scandalous imputations at the hands of men, unhappily then numerous, of the stamp of the notorious Century White, from which Barwick indignantly justifies them[h]. Neither the accuser's name however, nor the nature of the accusation, are mentioned.

Publishes the Right of the Church in a Christian State.

§ 15. Thorndike's ordinary places of residence during this period (as indeed until the Restoration), we may conjecture to have been London and Cambridge. There at any rate we find him in 1649 and 1650; in which years, undismayed by poverty or calumny or persecution, he published successively his Right of the Church in a Christian State at the former place[i], and at the latter a new edition of his two earlier tracts, enlarged with a Review[i]. And to both places he would naturally be attracted, in order to obtain access to libraries. The occasion of his new publication, which is a continuation and completion of the two which preceded it—(they treat re-

[e] Life and Times of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 362. See below in § 21.

[f] See Letter VI. above printed.

[g] See ibid., Letter VII.

[h] From such reproaches, says Barwick (Life of Dean Barwick, pp. 338, 339. Eng. tr.), "the best of the clergy could not be safe; neither Mr. Oley, nor *Mr. Thorndike*, nor Mr. Thirscross, nor any of those great men, who with incomparable sanctity of life have adorned this worst age, altogether worthy of a better."—For Oley, see above, p. 146, note z; and for Thurscross, p. 142, note o.

[i] See note B, at the end of the Life.

spectively of the ministry and services of the Church, and of her outward relations to the state)—was the formal establishment of Presbyteries and Congregations in England by Parliament, together with the suppression of the Prayer-Book and the setting up of the Directory in its stead: proceedings, by which the civil power, in spite of the unavailing reclamations of the Presbyterians (slain by their own sword), took to itself a direct ecclesiastical and spiritual authority, all Church censures being expressly subjected to an appeal in the last resort to Parliament. Thorndike hereupon,—referring himself throughout, as in his former publications, wholly to Scripture as interpreted by Apostolic practice,—begins by laying down the broad principles, as a foundation of his doctrine, 1. that the Church as such has no coactive power, but 2. that she stands upon the indefeasible right (and duty) of holding assemblies for the service of God, which involves the power of the keys in admitting candidates thereto by baptism, and in the exclusion by excommunication of those who forfeit their Christianity. He proceeds next to define the persons, in whom this power by God's law resides: and after disposing of the Presbyterian and Independent theories, which settled it respectively in presbyteries and in the people, proves at length, that it belongs to the bishop and presbyters in every diocese, attended by their deacons, a right of exception and of approbation in particular cases to the determinations and acts of the clergy being reserved to the people. It follows from these principles, that no secular person as such, and therefore not the state, can be entitled to "ecclesiastical power," if this term be restricted to the power which belongs to the Church of Divine right (as above declared); but inasmuch as all states have power in matters of religion antecedently to Christianity, and as the Gospel leaves all states in full possession of all their original rights, it follows also, that states possess, not indeed "ecclesiastical power," but "power in ecclesiastical matters," and this in all matters concerning the well-being of the subject, provided always that it be "cumulative and not destructive" to the proper power of the Church: the only difference made by Christianity being this, that it superadds to the right a duty, on the part of the state now become itself Christian, to protect and maintain the Church. The difficult part of the question however still remains to be

solved, in reconciling the actual exercise as well as the theoretical compatibility of these two distinct but concurrent jurisdictions, concurrent indeed throughout their whole subject-matter. Now it is plain, that no human power can rightfully interfere with anything necessary to such unity of the Church as is Divinely commanded, and therefore neither with the profession of the faith, nor with the power of admitting to baptism or the eucharist, in a word with the power of the keys. But further than this, the Church has power to give laws to its members in matters not determined, although determinable, by God's law; as in the case of ceremonies, or of any matter "wherein the exercise of ecclesiastical power is necessary to preserve the unity of the Church." Neither can the state without sacrilege take away the pecuniary support to which by God's law the Church is entitled at the hands of its members. Upon these subjects "the matter of Church law" is to be determined by the Church. Upon all other points the state is absolute, the Church silent; but upon these, the Christian state is bound to take the law at the Church's hands, and to adopt and enforce it. It neglects its duty if it fail to do this. It is to be disobeyed, that is, its penalties to be endured, if it enforce the contrary. Supposing however the matter of the law determined, the difference between both the means and the ends respectively proposed to themselves by each body, readily reconciles their relative jurisdictions. The determining the matter of ecclesiastical laws *in order to excommunication,* belongs to the Church. The enacting them as laws of civil societies *to be enforced by privileges and penalties,* belongs to the state. The Church has no power to affect the civil position of any person, for good or for evil. The state has no power to affect his spiritual position[1]. The Church however which the state is bound to accept as conclusive, is not the present Church. That is the Roman error. Still less is it bound to submit to the alleged inspiration of individuals, which is the error of the fanatics. The consent of the whole Church from the beginning alone constitutes that ultimate standard of the interpretation of Holy Scripture, to which all are obliged to bow. Such is the general theory maintained in the book. A number of subordinate

[1] The summary of this doctrine is in c. iv. § 77.

but important questions follow upon the general statement. As, for example, the right of the civil power to reform the Church without or against the consent of the existing ecclesiastical power: which is affirmed, with the material proviso, that it be limited to cases where the existing Church clearly destroys the laws of the primitive, the civil power being then bound to interfere for the subject's protection. Such is Thorndike's theory of the Reformation in England: a theory, it will be observed, which covers, and is expressly applied in his Just Weights and Measures (a dozen years subsequent) to cover, the utmost extent of the displacement of bishops by Queen Elizabeth, which forms so strong an argument with Romanist writers. Again, the right of the civil power to interfere by privileges or penalties in religious matters at all: which he distinctly affirms, on the ground of the Christianity of the state as such, whereby it is bound to employ its own appropriate power in God's service. Admitting the principle, he proceeds indeed with a kindly inconsistency to limit the degree of its applicability, by denying to the state the power of inflicting death, save for the two cases of offence against natural religion, and the holding as part of Christianity anything prejudicial to civil society. But he clearly maintains the right, or rather the duty, incumbent upon Christian states, of establishing the Church by penalties as well as privileges. It is just however to add, that in later tracts, while still maintaining the principle of temporal penalties, "short of death, banishment, or confiscation of goods," upon dissenters from the national Church, he nevertheless limits the practical application of such state-interference to the simple enforcement of Church-sentences; that is, to the extent of compelling persons excommunicated to submit to such excommunication; and he specifies as the appropriate and sufficient penalty, the prohibition of burial "in consecrate ground and with the service of the Church," to such as "excommunicate themselves" by joining with sects[k]: a measure of recognition, which assuredly does not go beyond the bounds of bare justice, and might be claimed of even an infidel state. The right of the Church to limit its members by laws upon points not contained in God's law, as

[k] Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties, c. xxix.; publ. in 1670: and Reform. of Ch. of Engl. &c., c. iii., written in 1670—2.

e. g. the ceremonies of Divine service,—the liability of the sovereign to Church discipline, so that all civil consequences be carefully excluded from it,—the sin and injustice of religious wars,—these and similar points are likewise incidentally discussed: and, lastly, also, a subject requiring at that time delicate handling, viz. the rightfulness of the foreign reformation, carried into effect, as it was, against their bishops. This he defends on the broad principle, that although succession of persons is indeed a law of God, yet it is so in order to the effect of a higher law of Christianity itself, and therefore that they, who could only retain the latter by the sacrifice of the former, were not merely authorized but bound to sacrifice the ordinary means, in order to attain the paramount end, which those very means were instituted to procure. He proceeds indeed so far on this last subject, as to affirm, that the foreign Protestants would have been justified, assuming the facts as above set forth, in the strong step which they took of setting up a ministry for themselves, had it only been of the primitive form. It is obvious to remark upon the statement above made of Thorndike's sentiments respecting toleration, that his premisses scarcely prove his conclusion. Taking as his ground a position, which all must admit who believe in the possibility of national sins and national duties, —viz. that the state as such is bound to adopt and maintain the truth,—and holding, as a Churchman, that the truth is embodied in the Church Catholic, he infers as a necessary result, that a majority in a state is bound to enforce that truth upon a minority by the civil power, and to punish dissentients, at least by the penalty (real although negative) of denial of civil privilege. Now it is one thing for the state to preserve the Church, in common with all other bodies, in her own properties and rights; another, and a different thing, for that state to maintain, and a still further step for her by state penalties to enforce, a special view of the truth for herself. The first is mere natural justice: the second, a national duty towards the Church, as much so as it is the duty of an individual: to assume, as Thorndike does, that to advance thus far involves also of necessity the third and further step, seems to depend upon a confused and mistaken conception of the functions of a state as such. At least however it may be said, that of the widely varying forms of this last position, from

the Inquisition and the *Auto-da-fè* to the slightest and most negative amount of penalty, Thorndike's earlier doctrine is the mildest and most gentle: while his later and practical proposal on the subject falls within limits so narrow, that to reject it is indeed to persecute the Church herself. And it ought to be remembered also, that he lived in times, when the best and truest members of the English Church could only bring themselves to a grudging permission of a bare and temporary toleration under the pressure of extreme exigency[1], while Presbyterians and Independents refrained from both defence and practice of the extremest persecution, only when each of themselves feared in turn to become its objects. The last paragraphs of the tract speak the unshaken adherence of the writer to the Church, then suffering under the deprivation of all her temporalties, her bishops abolished by law, her services forbidden, at first in public and in church, and then even in private families, and her churches defaced and plundered; but not yet under that last and most flagrant oppression, which afterwards filled up the measure of her sufferings, when, in common with popery on the one side, and on the other the most hideous blasphemies of that most blasphemous period, she was placed under the ban of the state by the triumphant Usurper, and her services and her very existence unrelentingly persecuted[m]. The Review which was added to the tract as an appendix, notices the first appear-

[1] See the question and answer in 1647 upon the permissibility of tolerating any other religion than that established, to the extent of not punishing those who dissented: proposed apparently on behalf of Charles to the bishops and divines of the Church, and answered by Ussher, Duppa, Prideaux, Brownrigg, Sheldon, Sanderson, Holdsworth, Hammond, Walton, Taylor, in a very limited affirmative; by Bps. Skinner and Warner, in an affirmative still more qualified; and by Bp. Morton in the negative (Sanderson's Works, ed. Jacobson, vol. vi. pp. 459, 460; and Cary's Memor. of the Civil War, vol. i. pp. 329, 334, 337, 346). Taylor however would obviously have signed a far more decisive form of affirmative reply: as his Liberty of Prophesying was published in the same year 1647. And see Heber's remarks on the subject, in his Life of Taylor, pp. xxix., sq. ed. Eden.

[m] See Cromwell's Acts respecting the Church in 1653—6, in the notes to the Letter on the Pres. State of Religion, § 1—3. The Directory was enforced, and the Prayer-book forbidden, in churches and chapels, Jan. 3, 164⅗. The prohibition was extended to "any private place or family," Aug. 23, 1645. Bishops were abolished Oct. 9, 1646. Scobell, Pt. i. pp. 75—92, 97—101. The ordinances for demolishing monuments of superstition or idolatry, scil. stone-altars, altar-rails, and organs, among the rest, preceded the others, upon Aug. 23, 1643, and May 9, 1644. Ibid., pp. 53, 54, 69, 70. But many Church clergy kept up the services until the time of Cromwell's ordinances, and some few in spite of those ordinances (see Evelyn's Diary under dates of Dec. 3, 25, 1654, Nov. 27, Dec. 25, 1655, Aug. 3, 1656, Dec. 25, 1657; and the papers on the state of the Church during the Rebellion, in the Ecclesiastic, vol. vii. p. 279).

ance in the arena of controversy of one, soon to become an active and dangerous foe, not only to Christian truth, but to the first principles of morals, and to the very existence of truth itself, viz. Hobbes; whose work *De Cive*, there noticed[1], was first published in 1642. Finally, it should be mentioned, that several of the topics here first mooted, are pursued at greater length by Thorndike, not only in his Epilogue, but also in some smaller tracts, written towards the close of the Usurpation, about 1659 or 1660, and first printed in the sixth volume of the present edition of his Works. He treats in these severally of the Church's right to tithes, of her power of excommunication, of her legislative power; referring himself in each case wholly to Scriptural arguments. And in a fourth tract he takes the converse view of the main subject, viz. the relation of Church and state, and discusses, not the right of the Church in the Christian state, but the right of the Christian state in matters belonging to the Church. He follows out in this last tract, with considerable learning, the force and limits of the analogy drawn between the ecclesiastical power of Jewish and Christian kings respectively, and agrees in his general conclusion with his opinions as already stated; affirming a right and a duty incumbent upon the latter, not only of maintaining the Church, but of maintaining it by their appropriate powers, i. e. by rewards and by punishments.

Assists Walton in the great Polyglott Bible.

§ 16. In 1652, in conjunction with other divines and scholars, and in subordination to the projector and main executor of the scheme, Dr. Brian Walton, Thorndike ventured on a literary enterprize of far greater magnitude than any he had hitherto attempted: an enterprize, upon which English theological scholarship may well pride itself, and which amply deserved the eulogies then[m] and since[n] for-

[1] c. v. § 18.

[m] See Lightfoot's speech as Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, in 1655, in Bright's Life of him, Appendix, c. v. p. xx.: who speaks thus—"Sic sub protrito et proculcato statu cleri nuper Anglicani germinavit, et adhuc germinat, nobile illud eruditionis germen, editio Bibliorum multi-linguium, qua quid generosius, vix vidit unquam respublica literaria, nec quicquam Anglia sibi honorificentius. Opus æternæ famæ, monumentum memorabile in sempiterna sæcula futurum, summæ eruditionis, zeli, et in Deo bonarum literarum protectore fiduciæ cleri Anglicani jam tum summe perielitantis. Macti estote, viri venerandi et doctissimi, qui in opere tam magnanimo desudatis. Pergite, quod facitis, trophæa vobis erigere, patriæque, et perlegant ope vestra omnes gentes Sacra Biblia suis linguis; atque iisdem linguis eadem ope prædicentur fama eruditionis et literatura gentis Anglicanæ."

[n] See the quotations in Dibdin's Introd. to the Classics: and see also Twells' Life of Pocock, and Todd's

mally bestowed upon it; and not the less, that it was undertaken, and successfully executed, by a few disheartened clergy of a plundered and persecuted Church. A work, which a century and a half earlier had required the resources of a Ximenes, with the whole power and wealth of the great and intellectual Spanish kingdom of his time, and the munificence of the most munificent and most literary of Popes, Leo X., to back him[o];—which had at a later time formed a design worthy of being undertaken at the charge of the King of Spain himself[p];—and which but a few years before had taxed the then pre-eminent learning of Parisian scholars, aided and thwarted alternately by the powerful patronage of a Richelieu[q];—was accomplished in England by the efforts of a small band of private divines[r], labouring under all the disadvantages, which the past civil war, and the ruin of the English Church, and poverty, and religious strife, could heap upon them, and assisted only by the generous and (for England at the time) unprecedented aid of private subscribers[s],

Life of Walton; and Tregelles' recent account of the text of the Greek Testament, § 4. pp. 38, 39. 8vo. 1854.

[o] The Complutensian Polyglott, in 6 vols. folio, was printed at Alcala (Complutum) in 1514—7. See Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxx. § 23, note a; Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. iii. c. xii. pp. 285—289. 5th edition: Orme's Biblioth. Brit.; Dibdin's Introd. to Classics; and the Preface to Walton's Polyglott.

[p] The Antwerp Bible, in 8 vols. folio, Antwerp 1569-72, by Arias Montanus, was printed by Plantinus at the charge of Philip II. of Spain, and under the patronage of Cardinal Spinosa. See Epil., ibid., note b; Orme, Dibdin, and Walton's Preface.

[q] The Paris Bible was published there by Michael Le Jay in 10 vols. folio, in 1628-45. See Epil., ibid, note c: Orme, and Dibdin.

[r] The credit of the work is due, besides Walton himself, to Thorndike (who was Walton's "second," according to Twells), Castell, Whelock, Samuel Clarke, Alexander Huish, Thomas Hyde, Dudley Loftus. Others also aided in a less extensive degree: as Abp. Ussher, William Fuller, Sheldon, Bruno Ryves, Sanderson, Dr. Sterne, Samuel Baker, Hammond, Ferne, John Johnson, Richard Drake, Pocock, Thomas Greaves, Thomas Smith, and Lightfoot. Dr. Pierce, Claude Hardie, Richard Heath, John Viccars, and a brother student of Thorndike's at Trinity College, Dr. David Stokes, also co-operated in the work. And Meric Casaubon, William Norris, and apparently also Cudworth, Duport, Gataker, and Worthington, were, or were intended to be, consulted during the course of it. See Todd's Life of Walton; and Walton's Preface.

[s] The Polyglott was "the first book published by subscription in England: £4,000 were subscribed, before the proposals for publication were issued; and £9,000 within about two months afterwards" (see Todd's Life of Walton, quoting Evelyn's Diary, and Dibdin, and also a note to Fell's Life of Hammond, p. lxxxii. Oxf. 1847, prefixed to Hammond's Practical Catechism). The price of one copy to a subscriber was £10, of six copies £50. To others the cost seems to have been from £15 to £18 (see above, p. 137). There was a great deal of activity in procuring subscriptions. Some particulars may be found in Hammond's Life as just quoted. Worthington raised £50 with five others (see his diary under April 5, 1653, in Heywood and Wright, vol. ii. p. 579). And Sanderson did a good deal, as may be seen in some letters from him, in Jacobson's ed. of his Works, vol. vi. pp. 375, 376; where there is a list of subscriptions amounting to £560, col-

and by a scanty boon and a questionable patronage at the hands of the usurping powers[t]. The great Polyglott Bible, which with the Auvergne paper of its handsomer copies[u], with its well-filled yet clearly printed pages, and abundant provision of types of Oriental alphabets, to which must be added its low price, forms an era in typography no less than in Biblical scholarship, was formally started by Walton, after some years of preparation, in 1652, and brought to a successful accomplishment by himself and his coadjutors in 1657. The theological importance of the design was not less than its magnitude as a literary work. It was a great stride in advance in the great and laborious efforts of those scholars, to whom we owe the precious possession of a substantially certain and correct text of Holy Scripture. And although it left ample room for the future labours of more advanced scholars, who possessed greater aids for their task, for a Mill and a Kennicott, a Holmes and a Tregelles, for Griesbach, and Bengel, for Lachmann, and Tischendorf; yet in its own particular design it has never been superseded or outdone. The idea appears to have occurred to Walton as early as 1644 or 5. But the first intimation of his actual labours is in July 1652, when Thorndike was already actively co-operating with him. The patronage of Evelyn among others was solicited for the design (by Pearson) in November 1652. And a prospectus of the scheme was drawn up about the same time, and followed by proposals, with a specimen; which, with a letter of recommendation annexed, signed by Walton himself, by Ussher, W. Fuller, Bruno Ryves, Whelock, and Thorndike, were

lected by Sanderson and one other before Feb. 12, 165¾. So also Mr. John Sherman, a brother fellow of Thorndike's and ejected with him, as mentioned by Lloyd (Loyal Martyrs), and by Walker (Sufferings, &c., Pt. ii. p. 160). And one Thomas Cawton is honourably mentioned by Todd as assisting in the same way.

[t] "The Council of State, by their order bearing date Sunday 11th of July 1652," gave "their approbation and allowance of the work, declaring the same to be very honourable and deserving encouragement, and *it is hoped* they will promote the publishing of it" (Proposals &c. in Todd, pp. 45, 46). Cromwell gave Walton and his friends paper free of duty, promised but did not give £1000, and tried to extort a dedication, which Walton's loyalty designed, and his ingenuity accomplished, in favour of Charles II. See Todd's Life of Walton, and Twells' Life of Pocock, and Dibdin.

[u] See above in Thorndike's Letters, nos. XII., XIII. The paper made at Ambert and other places in Auvergne, was at this time the best. The makers of it, being chiefly Protestants, fled from France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and transported their trade to England. See Weiss, Hist. of French Protestant Refugees.

issued upon March 1 of the following year[x]. It was to comprehend the whole of the original texts, together with the Versions of Holy Scripture (scil. the Samaritan, Septuagint, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Vulgate), contained in the Complutensian, Antwerp, and Paris Bibles, with the addition of the Persic and Ethiopic Versions, so far as they extended, and of some other minor accessions: but its principal advantages over its predecessors lay in the additional Latin translations which were subjoined to all the Oriental Versions and Texts, in the copious collections of various readings (a new thing at that time) given in the sixth and concluding volume, and in the collations of new MSS., and careful revision of texts, by which errors and incorrect readings were expurgated[y]. Of this herculean task Thorndike undertook the Syriac portion[z]; besides a share in the general supervision of the whole work, "in the preparing of copies, correcting the work for the press, and overseeing the managing" of the business[a]. He began his labours in 1652: and a frequent correspondence between Ussher, Walton, Pocock, and himself, of which only a portion unfortunately remains, attests the zeal and diligence with which they were prosecuted[b]. Five years elapsed before the task was accom-

[x] They are in Todd and Twells: and the letter is dated March 1, 165$\frac{5}{4}$.

[y] See the preface and title of the work. For Clarke's additional volume, and Wilkins' subsequent supplement, and Castell's Lexicon, and for the Coptic Pentateuch and Armenian Bible, hoped for but not obtained from the Vatican, see Twells and Todd. That Walton should have been misled to assign undue weight to the "Velezian" readings, or should have failed of complete accuracy in printing so laborious a work, is no impeachment on the critical acumen of one who was an early labourer in the vast task of preparing a critical text of the whole Bible. Thorndike naturally follows those Velezian readings once or twice: see Epil., Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xvii. § 3. See also Brunet, Le Long, Adam Clarke's Bibliogr. Dict., Orme, and Dibdin's Introd. to Classics, and the books there cited respecting the Polyglott Bible. Arnold Boate before its publication, and Simon in 1685, are the chief exceptions, among critics, to a favourable judgment. See the letters to Ussher from Boate on the subject, and Simon's Hist. Critique du Vieux Testament.

[z] His collection of Syriac readings of the Old Testament is in the sixth volume of the work. See below in note B at the end of this Life.

[a] So in the Prospectus and Letter before referred to. Dr. Stokes, Whelock, Thorndike, Pocock, Greaves, Viccars, Smith, and Walton himself, were to oversee the work. Ussher, Selden, Sheldon, Hammond, Sanderson, and Sterne, were to advise. Whelock, Smith, Ussher, and Selden, died in the course of its publication.

[b] In Twells' Life of Pocock, p. 208 (ed. 1816), from a letter of Brian Walton to Pocock, dated July 28, 1652: —"Though the Lord Primate's written copy" (of the Syriac MS. of the Old Testament) "is declared by Mr. Thorndike to be more trusty than Mr. Pocock's, yet he owns it was sometimes to be helped thereby."

In Parr's Life and Letters of Ussher, and from thence in Elrington's edit. of Ussher's Works, vol. xvi. p. 248, from a letter of Brian Walton to Ussher,

plished and the whole work published[c]. The interval must have been passed by Thorndike, (unless so far as domestic griefs and the increasing persecution of the Church affected him,) in better circumstances, and with greater personal security, than the years immediately preceding it; engaged as he was in a work, from which he derived pecuniary benefit, as well as literary fame, and which excited as little, as in such times was possible, of jealousy or sectarian hatred at the hands of the ruling powers. The brunt indeed of such controversy as, strange to say, the design did call forth, fell upon Walton exclusively[d]. And the divines who shared his

dated July 13, 1653;—"If your Syriac copy be come out of France, Mr. Thornedike would gladly have it to collate, both with the Paris, and with your other manuscript, for all may be done with the same labour."

In Twells' Life of Pocock, pp. 216, 217, from a letter of Herbert Thorndike to Pocock, dated Feb. 24, 165$\frac{3}{4}$.—"I have conferred with my Lord Primate and Dr. Walton about your motion of the other Syriac in the Gospels, and perhaps Dr. Walton may write to you about it hereafter, upon consideration of the charge which lies upon him and makes a difference in the business. ..... As to the Latin of the Arabic, I conceive the like may be said of the Syriac; but I do not hear you advise that any thing be done to rectify it; that is a work that would be profitable, but troublesome: and I know not how plausible in another man's work: and truly I am of advice, that the business of this work is, rather to settle the originals, resting contented with giving the translations anciently printed: it would be too much to undertake to do that, for all, which were fit to be done, in time." Pocock had suggested, first, that two differing Syriac translations of the Gospels should both be printed, and secondly, that the Latin translation of the Arabic Version, which was full of mistakes, should be corrected.

See also Thorndike's letter to Ussher of Nov. 10, 1655, printed above, No. III.: and the abstract of another letter, from Thorndike to Pocock, dated in the same month and year, in Twells' Life of Pocock, quoted in note p to the former letter, above in p. 123.

Of the above letters, only the two addressed to Ussher still exist. The others were in the possession of Pocock's son, the Rev. Edward Pocock, rector of Mildenhall in Wilts, in 1740, when Twells wrote; but cannot now be recovered. Pocock's papers came ultimately (in 1823) to the Bodleian Library, where they now are: but no letters are among them. There were other letters also in Twells's hands, beside those here quoted, upon the subject of the Polyglott, but which do not relate to Thorndike.

[c] The Biblia Polyglotta appeared, the first volume in 1654 (except the Prolegomena &c.), the second in 1655, the third in 1656, and the complete work in 1657. It was first put to press in Sept. or Oct. 1653. Thorndike's assistance is acknowledged in the Preface, which describes him as "Herbertus Thorndicius ejusdem Coll. S. Trinit. Cant. socius, linguarum scientia celebris."—In the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library (vol. lii. fol. 27) are an agreement and receipts between one John Hubbard, Esq. (to pay £10 for one copy of the Polyglott Bible), and on the other side, William Humble, of the first part, Brian Walton of London, D.D., of the second part, four persons entrusted to "receive and keep copies" of the Bible, among the rest Richard Drake, of the third part, and "the L. Primate of Armagh, D. William Fuller, D. Brune Rieves" (sic), "D. Samuel Baker, *Herbert Thorndike*, and the said Richard Drake of London, clerks, of the fourth part:" dated July 19, 1653. The six names in the last division are those of the persons appointed to authorize payments from the fund of contributions, with the addition of Thorndike himself to the number originally named; and Humble was the treasurer of the fund.

[d] Walton's Considerator Considered, against Owen, is reprinted at the end of

labours and their triumph, were probably gratified rather than annoyed by the fact, that the general chorus of approbation and congratulation was broken only by the honourable stigma of the Papal Index, and the perverse and blind polemics of the learned fanatic Dr. Owen.

Designs an edition of Origen.

§ 17. Thorndike's Biblical labours did not wholly occupy his time; and as they approached their close, made way gradually for another design of scarcely less magnitude. With no predilection for the peculiar speculations of Origen, he regarded him as one, who had not only done great service to theology in general, but had on one particular point, only second in importance to the doctrines of the faith, viz. the relation of the Law to the Gospel, both seen the truth clearly and expressed it forcibly[e]. Moreover the editions of Origen's writings at that time existing, were very imperfect; nor was there any collective edition of the works of that father in the original Greek at all[f]. Under these circumstances he formed the design of publishing a complete edition of Origen's works; and obtained for the purpose both MSS. of some of his tracts[g], and collations of MSS. in foreign libraries[h]. We find him commissioning Sancroft, then in Holland, upon the subject, in Dec. 1657, again in 1659, and probably also in 1660[i]; and speaking in the earliest of these letters of a yet earlier commission given to a friend at Florence on the same subject, and of MSS. already collected by himself, which he had thoughts of printing. It does not appear why the design

Todd's Life; and see above in Epil. II. xxxii., xxxiii. Owen accused Walton of tampering with the absolute inspiration of the Hebrew text, 1, by denying the antiquity of the Hebrew points, and 2, by profanely correcting it by the aid of translations &c.

[e] See Epil. Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. viii. § 17, notes g, h, c. xxxii. § 13, note s. And that Thorndike was no Origenist, ibid., c. xvii. § 11, 24; and Bk. I. c. xiii. § 28, 37, 42, c. xxii. § 13, 14.

[f] The Paris editions, of 1512, and 1522, that of Erasmus, and Genebrard's of 1604, were merely of the Latin translations.

[g] The Codex Holmiensis, containing Origen's Commentary on St. Matthew and his tract De Oratione, passed out of Isaac Voss's hands into Thorndike's; "*usura* ejus," says Huet in 1668, "ab annis aliquot concessa Herberto Thorndicio Anglo, qui omnium Origenis operum editionem meditari se profitebatur, in ipsius eum potestate mansisse." Thorndike himself evidently would have used another word for the transaction than "*usura*:" for Reading in 1728 adds to Huet's statement (which he quotes), that "(quod et in codicis fronte nctatum invenimus) eundem Thorndicium, Coll. S. Trin. Cantab. soc., codicem illum Holmiensem a Vossio sibi *donatum*, Collegii sui bibliothecæ legasse." The MS. however was not left by will to the College, but given by him during his life in 1670. See below, note l.

[h] See above in Letters VI., XI., XII., XIII.

[i] Ibid.

was laid aside. The Cambridge edition of the answer to Celsus and of the Philocalia in 1658[j], was far from filling the void which Thorndike intended to supply. And Huet's edition, which itself contained only the Commentaries on Holy Scripture, did not appear until 1668. Probably the serious fears which he entertained respecting his health in the spring of 1659[k], together with his increasing interest in the subject of his great work the Epilogue, upon which he must by that time have set to work in earnest, and continued to employ himself to the end of his life, supply the real reasons. And other occupations also must have effectually hindered the prosecution of so large a design when the Restoration came. A valuable MS. of one of Origen's tracts (the Codex Holmiensis) was given by him, with his other MSS. of Origen, to the Library of his own College at Cambridge, where they still are[l]. His other collections for the purpose have disappeared.

[j] See above, Letter VI., note f.

[k] See above, Letter XI., dated March 31, 1659.

[l] The following are the MSS. given by Thorndike to Trinity College Library, Cambridge.

(1). *Ὠριγένης Ἀφρικανῷ ..... εὖ πράττειν.*—Library mark, B. 7. 4.—On the fly-leaf is written, "Trin. Coll. Cant. A° Dñi 1672 Ex dono doctissimi M^ri Herberti Thornedick hujus Collegii nuper Socii Senioris" (in the handwriting apparently of the Librarian of the time): and also the following in Thomas Gale's handwriting—"Descriptus est hic libellus ex Patricii Junii exemplari; collatus est cum ea parte hujus epistolæ quam edidit D. Hœschelius; conjecturas suas addidêre Patricius Junius, H. Thorndicius, et T. G. V[ide] Origenis opera ex edit. Genebrardi."—(See above in the Right of the State in Church-matters, § 68, note a.)

(2). *Ὠριγένους ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ μαΘαῖον.* — Library mark, B. 8. 10. — On the fly-leaf is written, "Hic est ille codex Holmiensis quem toties laudat Dan. Huetius in suis Origenianis. Donavit Herberto Thorndicio Isaacus Vossius." (The five last words are in Gale's hand). And on the other side of the leaf, "TRIN. COL. CANTAB. Ex dono Reverendi clarissimique Viri Herberti Thorndike Hujusce Collegii quondam Socii. Anno Domini 1670." Delarue (Præf. ad Opp. Orig.) incorrectly makes Gale the donor of this MS. to Trin. Coll. library.

(3). *Διάλεξις Ἀδαμαντίου τοῦ καὶ Ὠριγένους περὶ τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ὀρθῆς πίστεως.* — Library mark, B. 9. 10. — "Ex dono Reverendi clarissimique viri Herberti Thorndike Hujusce Collegii quondam Socii, Anno Domini 1670." Below this Gale has written, "Dedit Herberto Thorndicio cl. v. Is. Vossius." On the opposite page are three reasons (apparently in Bp. Pearson's hand) for thinking that the tract is not Origen's.

(4). *Ὠριγένους τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον ἐξηγητικῶν.*—Library mark, B. 9. 11.—The old fly-leaf has disappeared, probably when the volume was rebound in the latter part of the last century, but the Catalogue drawn up before that period preserves the following information: "Hunc librum ex Codice Barocciano descripsit Herb. Thorndyke qui conjecturas suas in margine posuit."—There is a mistake however in the account here given of the source of this MS., the Bodleian MS. not belonging to the Codices Barocciani, but to those which are classed together as Codd. Miscellanei. It was however in the Bodleian Library before Langbaine's time, who probably procured Thorndike his copy of it. It appears to have been a common mistake, to confound all Oxford MSS. of the kind with those among the Codices Barocciani.

§ 18. Literary labours probably smoothed Thorndike's path at this period in other ways besides assisting his resources and employing his thoughts. As soon as Cromwell was firmly fixed on what he would fain, had he dared, have called his throne, like all shrewd statesmen in a similarly unsafe elevation, he strove to establish for himself, among other minor aids to power, the reputation of being a patron of letters. Accordingly he patronized as we have seen the Polyglott Bible, gave Ussher a public funeral, and allowed a number of literary men, brought together by common pursuits to London or its neighbourhood, to flourish there in tolerable security, although consisting almost wholly of loyalists, and mainly of clergymen of the Church. Ussher stood at the head of the body, a giant among giants, until death removed him in 1655; and with him Thorndike appears to have been upon terms of familiar intercourse[m]. It was probably in Ussher's society also, that Thorndike and Selden met[n]; although the former was not likely to cultivate the acquaintance of one, whom he habitually (and upon good grounds) ranks with Hobbes as among the most dangerous assailants of Church authority. Brian Walton[o] also, Sheldon[p], Pierce[q], Gunning[r], and many of the scholars already named in the list of assistants to the Polyglott, seem to have followed their pursuits unmolested, and mainly or frequently in London; and all of those just mentioned occur as in correspondence with Thorndike between 1652 and 1656. To these may be added Sir William Dugdale[s], and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Literary friends.

[m] See (besides the letters already cited in § 16, note b, respecting the Polyglott), the interesting paper concerning Ussher's sentiments about Calvinism, printed above among Thorndike's Letters, no. V. There is enough evidence in Pierce's book and Ussher's Life by Elrington, that that most learned prelate and pious man, beginning life as a Calvinist, ended it with very different and far soberer views. Thorndike evidently was one of those who were admitted to free converse with him on this and similar topics.

[n] "I who have heard him" (Selden) "say, that all pretence of ecclesiastical power is an imposture." Epil. II. ii. 11.

[o] See above in § 16, note b.

[p] See in the Letters above printed, no. II; and below in § 20.

[q] See ibid., no. V.

[r] See ibid., note w, and Pierce's book and Ussher's Life there cited; and Gunning himself as quoted above in § 1, note e.

[s] In a letter of Franciscus Junius (of whom see Wood, Ath. Oxon.) to Sir W. Dugdale, dated at the Hague, April 21, n. s., 1656, in Hamper's Diary and Correspondence of Dugdale, pp. 307, 308. Lond. 4to. 1827, the writer says—"Wee are not in haste to looke out for the desired Annals and Lexicon, yet doe wee count it a benefitt, that by your kind and seasonable letter wee doe not still lie under the torment of tediously deferred hopes. Howsoever wee d e

John Marsham [t], Hammond [u], and Sanderson [u], Gerard Langbaine the Provost of Queen's College [v], and Pocock [x], at Oxford, Dr. Price [y], Franciscus Junius [z], and Isaac Voss [a], and subsequently Sancroft [b], abroad. And at a little earlier time Thorndike had been left (apparently) executor, with Mr. Tovey of Christ's College, Milton's uncongenial College tutor, to Walter Warner the mathematician, whose papers he handed over to John Pell in 1652 [c].

Family troubles.

§ 19. Family sorrows [d] however must have been added to the personal troubles, with which he was still afflicted, to disturb the current of his literary pursuits. His youngest brother, as we have seen, had died as long back as 1640, leaving a young family, apparently not very well provided for [e]. His father had followed him to the grave, at a ripe age however, in 1644. His second brother John was in the distant colony of New England, a place the very thought of which must have been as gall and wormwood to Herbert's feelings. And his eldest and only other brother Francis, after burying three boys and a girl, the children of his first wife (herself dead twenty-seven years before, in 1629), and two out of three daughters born to him by his second wife Anne, died himself in 1656.

Plans respecting the Church during the Usurpation; and

§ 20. But the deepest source of Thorndike's solicitude must have arisen from the state of the Church; the very existence of which in England must have appeared more and more hopeless, as time went on. The preservation of

think our selfes much bound, as to you, so likewise *to Mr. Marsham* and *Mr. Thorndike*, desiring you to thanke them both from us, and to assure them that both I and my kinsman will ever bee readie to do them here anie service they shall require and lieth in us to effect." —See also above in § 5. p. 171, note a.

[t] See the last note; above, p. 146; and Epil., Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., cc. xvii. § 9, note e, § 11, note m, and xx. § 32: and Reformation of Ch. of Engl. &c., c. xv. § 2, note i.

[u] See below in § 20, note f.

[v] See Epil., Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxix. § 4, note h.

[x] See above, § 16, note b.

[y] See below, § 21, note t.

[z] See note s.

[a] See above in Letter XII.

[b] See above in Letters VI.—XII.

[c] See above, Letter I.

[d] See the pedigree in note A, at the end of this Life.

[e] His will, dated in 1639, proved in 1640, is the evidence for this. His eldest son Francis appears to have been placed on the foundation of Westminster school, and from thence to have been elected scholar of Trinity College Cambridge, in 1655; a time at which his uncle Herbert must have regretted to see him placed there, considering the principles then uppermost in both College and University. The Alumni Westmonasterienses mention the name, and date of election: and the College books inform us also that the Francis Thorndike so elected was of the county of Lincoln.

her ministry and services in the earlier part of the Usurpation, and of her episcopal order itself, as her bishops were one by one removed by death, occupied, with other schemes upon similar subjects, the anxious attention of such among her chief divines as still remained in England. And Sheldon, Hammond, Sanderson, and Thorndike, among others, appear to have been in correspondence, with a view to the accomplishment of these objects. The particulars of the plans discussed can only be conjectured from an imperfect series of letters; but it may be discerned, that Hammond, whose letters mainly supply our information on the subject in relation to the present period, found in the first of those just named a practical and business-like judgment, in Sanderson a disposition to compromise, and in Thorndike (what is no less characteristic) an inability to throw himself into the views of other men, and a disposition, honestly to insist upon principles, but so to insist upon them as to fail to render them acceptable to those with whom he had to act[r]. The singling out however of the Church by Cromwell for persecution,

letters respecting Sanderson's plan of disguising the Church service, and against communicating with the intruded ministers in 1653—6.

[r] See the series of papers in the Ecclesiastic upon the state of the Church during the Rebellion, the authorities of which are mainly letters of Hammond. The references to Thorndike are as follows:—

Oct. 14, (1649, according to the date assigned by the writer of the papers), Hammond writes to Sheldon — "I think your proposal is reasonable; .. but sure the beginning must be from abroad. For Mr. Thorndike's sense, I confess to believe it so far from being of force, that I wonder Dr. S[anderson] would take that pains to improve it, when I verily believe he himself hath relinquished his first way of maintaining it. For having long since given him my grounds of exception against it, he since sent me another draught not so liable to those, but yet very open to as great exceptions, which accordingly I gave him, and I have no other reply but that he takes time to consider" (Eccles., vol. vi. p. 303, from Harl. MSS. 62). The writer of the paper conjectures, that Thorndike "had shewn Hammond the rough draught of one of his future publications, and that upon Hammond's criticism he had considerably altered it." If this were so, and assuming the year of the letter to be correctly assigned, the publication thus altered must have been the Right of the Church in a Christian State. But the language of the letter is much more suggestive of some practical scheme then under debate; and the allusion to foreign parts seems to refer it to the subject of consecrating new bishops, or to some other design in which the king would be required to take a part. Hammond probably wrote from Sir P. Warwick's house at Clapham in Bedfordshire, and Sheldon from Stanton.

Dec. 16, (1651, according to the same authority as before), Hammond again writes to Sheldon, and this time without any clue at all to the subject of his letter.—"In that other business I think the Bishop of Ex[eter] a fit person to be moved, but know none that he hath intelligence with, or would move much the sooner for his being inclinable. If that course were probable, I think Dr. Fern might be used as an instrument by you to engage him, . . . or perhaps Mr. Thorndyke by me, who I think very much desires the advance of that work" (Eccles., vol. xii. p. 168). The bishop of Exeter was Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, with whom Thorndike of course was acquainted at Cambridge.

For Sanderson, see the next note.

while a general toleration was extended to the sects, and the conduct to which her children had recourse under the trial, called forth two interesting letters within this period from Thorndike's pen; in which we may trace an honesty equally uncompromising, but better informed. The well-known expedient adopted by Sanderson, of using the Church prayers when forbidden by the law, but under such a disguise as to obviate offence and escape penalties, appears to have undergone a formal discussion at the hands of the leading Church-clergy in London at the time when it was first practised, viz. 1653[g]. Thorndike among others communicated his sentiments upon the subject to Sheldon[h], and censured in turn his own former censurer. He condemns the practice however on the ground, that it really tampers with the authority which it professes to obey, and exercises a licence inconsistent with the laws of the Church. A still more weighty objection seems to lie in the deceit which the plan involves. To repeat the Baptismal Service by heart, in order to convince, by an immediate explanation, the hearers who unconsciously admired it, or to use the familiar phrases of the Liturgy as the best and readiest prayers of all that memory or invention could supply, — which was Bishop Bull's practice[i],—is one thing. It is a practice of a wholly different character, and one would think also as nugatory as

[g] See a note to Jacobson's edition of Sanderson's Works, vol. v. p. 37. It is obvious by Hammond's letters printed in the Ecclesiastic, that he for one seriously disapproved of Sanderson's practice respecting the Prayer-book. As early as 1649, in the first of the two letters cited above in note f, he says — "I think when I saw Dr. S[anderson] last, . . . certainly he told me he used the Common Prayer; otherwise I wonder not that he that disuses it should think fit to go to their churches that do omit it. When you meet with him, endeavour to infuse some courage into him, the want of which may betray his reason. His opinion expressed will betray many." Again on March 29, 1653, writing as before to Sheldon, (Eccles., vol. xiii. p. 331)—"Sure it was a mistake that Dr. Sand[erson's] paper is printed." And Sanderson's (guarded and qualified) defence of taking the Engagement in 1650, and his strong inclination to take a part with various Presbyterian ministers in a lecture at Grantham in 1653, likewise call forth Hammond's censure (Eccles., vol. vii. p. 284, vol. xiv. p. 158).—Bp. Duppa, on the other hand, defended Sanderson's practice respecting the Prayer-book, although suspiciously anxious to conceal it (see Duppa's letter of March 21, 165$\frac{3}{4}$, in Jacobson's Sanderson, vol. vi. pp. 459, 460). And Bp. Morley defends his conduct in general, but hardly (as Dr. Jacobson seems to think) this particular practice, at a considerably later period (see ibid., pp. 312, 330). For the Grantham lecture, see ibid., p. 379. And see also above, § 8. note t.

[h] See above, Letter II.

[i] See above, p. 117, note f. Dr. Bernard, it seems, is another instance of a practice like Bull's (see a note to Walton's Life of Sanderson in Wordsworth's Eccles. Biogr.).

it appears dishonest, continually to employ a form of prayer, intentionally so disguised that the congregation might not discover it to be what indeed it was, for the mere sake of adhering secretly to what outwardly was given up. It would be uncharitable indeed to think severely of men, and such men too as Sanderson, reduced to straits by a fanatic and ignorant persecution. Yet far better surely to do as those other clergy did, of whom Thorndike speaks in the second letter above referred to[j]; where, urging first upon his brother Francis, and then, by publishing his letter, upon all his brethren in the Church, the duty of not communicating with the Presbyterian ministers, intruded at that time through the Triers into the churches, he bids him and them adhere to those brave and devoted clergymen, the Dolbens and the Allestrys and the Fells, who still here and there clung to their ordination vows, and administered the consolations of their office, "in dens and caves of the earth," in secret and as they found opportunity, to their scattered and persecuted flocks. He had given similar advice a few years earlier and in less dangerous times, in his Right of the Church in a Christian State[k].

Intends to travel with Sancroft, but is prevented by ill-health.

§ 21. Some troubles, unexplained, affecting nearly the whole of his pecuniary means[l], afflicted him in the latter part of 1657. His College, now in the hands of men mainly strangers to him and of opposite principles of religion and politics, had desisted since 1654 from its previous liberality, and did not renew it until 1659[m]. Possibly too his difficulties may have arisen from the letter just mentioned; which, had it been known to be his, would certainly have rendered him

[j] Letter concerning the Present State of Religion amongst us, printed above in vol. v. For its date, and the person to whom it was addressed, see above, § 2, note y. And compare, for Thorndike's sentiments, the fragment of a sermon or letter published above in the Letters, no. IV.; which must be be dated about the same time.

[k] See c. v. § 107; and above, § 15. p. 201.

[l] See his letter to Sancroft of Dec. 18, 1657; above, no. VI.—1656 was the very first year in which Thorndike became entitled to his fifth from the living of Barley: a fact which, when coupled with the statement in the text, tells ill for Calamy's eulogy on Mr. Ball's honesty. See above in § 14, note e.

[m] Between 1654 and 1659 his College gave him nothing. The meeting which in 1653 voted him a gratuity of £25 for two years, as above mentioned, did so "upon his promising that this shall be the last he will ask" (Conclusion Book of Trin. Coll.). And accordingly the entry in 1654 runs thus:—"To Mr. Thorndike, by order, his *ultimum vale*, £25." In 1659 he received again a donation, but of the diminished amount of £20 (so the College Books). There were one or two exceptions to the statement in the text about Trinity College fellows. Duport for instance retained his fellowship throughout the Usurpation.

obnoxious both to the law and to Cromwell's anger[n]. Yet this seems looking too far back for the cause of them. And the publication of his Epilogue in 1659, which in 1658 he seems to have feared would compel him to quit London[o], is equally put aside by the dates, as too far forward. Nor is any reference traceable to other circumstances, by which his apprehensions might be explained. The trials of the times, and hard study, had by this time also broken his health[p]; which, judging by the allusions he makes at a later period to the subject[q], seems never to have been completely restored. And this, with his literary occupations, finally put an end to a design, which he had cherished throughout 1658, of joining Sancroft, then in Holland, in a tour through the continent and especially to Rome[r]. The motive for the journey was principally if not wholly a literary one, that of collating or copying MSS. A passage in the Epilogue[s] leads also to the inference, that the practical as distinguished from the documentary theology of the Church of Rome, in countries where her power was undisputed and her creed dominant, would have occupied the attention of the traveller; and that a personal acquaintance would have confirmed still more strongly that settled abhorrence of the abuses unhappily prevalent there, which was felt by him at the close as vividly as at the commencement of his life[t].

[n] See the concluding paragraphs of the Letter itself.

[o] See his letter to Sancroft of April 1658; above, no. VII.

[p] See his letter to Sancroft of March 31, 1659; above, no. XI.

[q] See his letter to Lightfoot of May 1669 (above, no. XVI.); and the Preface to his De Ratione Finiendi Controversias, in 1670; and below in § 28.

[r] See his letters to Sancroft of 1657, 8, 9, above.

[s] Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 33, 49: where he speaks of the idolatrous practices of the people of foreign Churches in communion with Rome.

[t] See e. g. Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xi. § 12: Epil. Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 33, 49: and Conclusion, § 31—33, 45: Just Weights and Measures, c. xxiii. § 5: Reform. of Ch. of Engl. &c., c. xiii. § 7, c. xlii. § 5: H. T.'s Judgment of Ch. of Rome, § 11—14.—Thorndike's letters to Sancroft of 1657-9, seem to imply, at least agree with the supposition, that the writer had not previously been out of England. An expression in his Epilogue as quoted in the last note, is much more decisive to the same effect. And his commissioning a friend in Florence to procure him a copy of a MS. there (see Letter VI.), looks the same way. A phrase in Dr. Price's letter to Ussher of Dec. 1, 1653 (in Ussher's Works, vol. xvi. p. 361), written at Florence, where he speaks of Ussher's letter, which he is answering, being "conveyed to him by Mr. Thorndike," need not mean more than that Thorndike had enclosed the letter to him. Certainly in 1653 Thorndike was busily engaged on the Polyglott Bible, and could not possibly have spared time to quit London for so long a period as a voyage to Italy would have required in the seventeenth century.

§ 22. In 1659[a], the pent-up feelings and thoughts which fifteen years of suffering had accumulated, found vent in Thorndike's great work, his Epilogue. Henceforward we are to regard him in a new and higher aspect: not as mainly a lexicographer, a linguist, or a scholar, but as a divine; and a divine, not of the closet, but of earnest and practical life, who having mastered as he thought the true religious difficulty of the times, concentrated his whole energies upon the thankless but noble task of pressing the secret of its true remedy upon his distracted brethren, and of pleading for the true principles, according to his own earnest conviction, of Christian unity. This was henceforward the work of his life. Urged at length in his Epilogue, itself in intention the prelude to a still larger book[x], pressed in both a shorter[y] and a longer[z] form upon the restored Church at her settlement in 1660-1, applied in several tracts[a] to various occasions in her subsequent history, repeated in a rewritten Epilogue (laid aside however unfinished)[b], and addressed finally in a solemn Latin treatise[c], one of the latest of its kind[d], to the learned theological world, who alone were adequate judges of such a subject; union upon the basis of the primitive Catholic Church, as the only true method and limit of reformation in religion, was henceforth the one thought to which all his powers were consecrated, which formed his last words at his death[e], and was intended to be inscribed upon his tomb[f]. Union indeed with the Church

Publishes the Epilogue.

[a] The accuracy of the date in the title-page of the Epilogue (1659) is proved by those of Taylor's and Clarendon's letters (quoted above in § 10, note d, and below in note q). The reference in Epil., Bk. II. c. xxiv. § 3, to the Critici Sacri, published in 1660, is explained by the Preface to the Polyglott Bible; whence it appears, that Walton and those concerned in the latter publication, had access also to the former during its preparation for the press.

[x] See the Preface to the Epilogue, § 13.

[y] Due Way of Composing Differences &c., 1660.

[z] Just Weights and Measures, 166¼.

[a] True Principle of Comprehension, 1667; Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed and Answered, 166⅞; Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties which a Due Reformation requires, 1670.

[b] The three MS. quartos containing it are in the Westminster Chapter Library. See below in note B, appended to this Life.

[c] De Ratione Finiendi Controversias &c., fol. Lond. 1670. See note B, ibid.

[d] Bps. Bull and Pearson must be excepted, and a few others. After the 17th century a Latin folio on a theological subject was not often produced.

[e] Scil. in his Will. See above, p. 143.

[f] See below in § 37, and above in p. 143.

of Rome upon such terms, he regarded as hopeless. Nor did his aims include even the foreign Reformed bodies. Both his duty and his hopes limited his efforts to his own country, and to the prospect, when (if ever) the Church should be re-established, of combining the various sects within her fold, and of settling her upon an impregnable ground, both against dissenters at home and against the Roman Church. His very style and mind underwent a parallel change. Debarred as he was from all active service of his Master, with his thoughts turned perforce as a spectator upon the hideous state of religion around him, while they were strengthened and deepened at the same time by personal suffering, the unity of a defined and noble aim lends henceforward to his hitherto somewhat chaotic mass of learning the order and regularity which it had lacked, while his powers of reasoning are quickened and rendered more profound by the energy of an earnest zeal[g]. The doctrine which he urged thus perseveringly, was no novelty. He was no syncretist, to invent new formulæ, in the hollow ambiguity of which contradictories might meet in nominal union: and to be led by inevitable consequence to sacrifice as indifferent all stubborn truths which refuse to be so disguised. Neither was his a temper to take up at once with indifferentism, and to resolve creeds into opinions, and truth into sincerity. The existing state of the religious world, —the failing condition of the Reformation abroad, rent into parties more bitterly virulent in their mutual hostility than even in their feelings towards the Church of Rome, and now seemingly about to lose their last hope by the ruin of the English Church,—was producing both schools at the time; the former (as was natural) soon to perish, the latter (as was equally natural) to endure and spread. But Thorndike was neither a Dury, nor a Hobbes, nor yet either a Calixtus or a Tillotson, neither syncretist nor latitudinarian, whether of the worse or of the better school. He did not even tie himself to the more congenial minds of Cassander or of Grotius: of the learning of both of whom, as of that of De Dominis and of others of all schools (Voss, Ussher, Albertinus, Selden,

[g] It must be owned however, that the fault found by Barrow with the Epilogue—its want of "perspicuity" —clung to Thorndike's style to the day of his death.

Arcudius[h]), he makes free use in his Epilogue, accompanied by as free criticism. He looked for a principle of evidence, which should distinguish solidly between the revealed and the unrevealed; and upon the authority of which the former might be reasonably enforced as faith, while the latter was with equal reason left free as opinion. And he found it in a position, the ground of which was recognised implicitly by the canons and formularies of the English Church[i] and by the laws of the English state[j], and was indeed, up to a certain point, the characteristic principle of the English Reformation:—that the visible Catholic Church of God, in unity with the apostles and with its Lord, was the one truth, which forgotten had caused the evil; the one truth, which, restored with its due consequences, would solve every difficulty, save what was made by man's own evil heart. On the one side lay the claims of the Roman Church to immediate inspiration (placed no matter where); on the other, the equally groundless, equally far-reaching, but far more arrogant claim of the fanatics to individual inspiration. Let each party, he urged, be once brought to admit themselves limited to the sense of Scripture expounded by the primitive faith and the primitive laws of the Church, and the very ground of their particular errors is cut away. Again, let the principle be once admitted, that all laws of religion must be limited within the unity of the Catholic Church, that is, must not be such as to contradict her laws, and so to give adequate cause to other Churches to refuse to recognise them; while at the same time, without those limits, each portion of the Church is at full liberty to settle its own regulations for itself: and a ground is laid immediately for the authority of *national* Churches, and a limit provided to such authority, against the Independents, and against those who (like the Presbyterians at the Savoy Conference) maintained all laws of the Church as such to be "the sins of those that made them[k]." Yet again, let it be admitted, first, that the Christian state is not only justified but bound to protect the subject in the exercise of true religion; and next, that the

[h] He became acquainted with Calixtus, or at least with his work on the marriage of the clergy, only after he had written the Epilogue. See Epil. III. xxxii. 30. a, 36. b. See also ibid., Pref., § 13.

[i] See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. v.

[j] See ibid.

[k] Just Weights and Measures, c. xxv. § 7, note y.

standard of truth is (not the shifting dicta of existing men, whether of all Christians collectively, or of individuals, but) the past and eternal revelation made once for all, and laid up in Scripture as interpreted by the Church primitive: and even if the Reformation in England had been wholly effected by the civil power against the authorities of the existing Church, here lies the warrant for it, provided that the model of its reforms be the primitive Church. One consequence indeed more remains, of a different complexion. It could not, he thought, be said, that the Church of England had in all points carried out her own principle. To affirm that principle, then, was to assert by necessary inference that the Reformation in England needed in such points to be reformed anew. He does not shrink from the consequence. He owns, as Bramhall did before him[l], that he owes a paramount duty to the Church Catholic, a subordinate duty to the Church of England; nay further, that the latter was bound, even in self-defence, to apply her own principle in all cases alike with an honest and rigorous exactitude. In one point, that of penance and discipline, she herself expressly recognised her own imperfection. In other points also, too small to be deemed essentials, and, had the English Church been still established, far better "to bear with than to mend[m]," the example of the primitive Church was not followed by her, and change therefore ought to be made that it might be so. Prayer for the dead who have died in Christ, and the restoration of the prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the elements in the eucharist, are the two principal if not the only two instances specified by him[n], in matters of doctrine in the Service. The restoring of the presbyters to their due place in the rule of the Church, as a council with the bishop but subject to his veto, is the parallel topic in matters of Church government. Of the first two of these points there will be occasion to speak hereafter[o]. Of the third mention has been made already. Let it only be

[l] See the dedication of the treatise on Schism, at the beginning of vol. ii. of Bramhall's Works.

[m] Epilogue, Pref., § 9.

[n] Of the four "usages" afterwards debated by the Nonjurors among themselves, of which two were the points here specified, Thorndike preserves a singular and unbroken silence upon a third, the mixing water with the wine in the eucharist. He was not wont to conceal his convictions: and the inference is that he held it *not* primitive in the sense in which primitive would be obligatory. See below in § 39.

[o] In speaking of the Convocation of 1661, 2, and of Thorndike's will and epitaph.

said here,—what experience surely has proved,—that had Thorndike's often repeated suggestions[p] respecting it been attended to, our Church organization would at least have been a more living and vigorous system of government, than has been too often the case. Deans and Chapters would have united the clergy of the lower and higher orders, instead of being what they have been; while there would have been less, in general, of the combination of actual independency with nominal subjection, and bishops would have been less left to choose between irresponsible autocracy or quiet impotence. To return, however, to give a short account of the reception and of the contents of Thorndike's book. It was received as perhaps might have been expected. The lot of the peacemaker is seldom peaceful. And he who holds to a principle and not to a party, must expect to alienate friends, more than to conciliate opponents. Nor was the present case an exception to the rule. Even Royalists and Churchmen, if Clarendon[q] may be taken as their mouthpiece, expressed a dissatisfaction, singularly reechoing almost

[p] Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xiv. § 5, 6; Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 29—33; Just Weights and Measures, c. xxiv. § 11; True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. ix.; Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences &c., sect. v. § 5; Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxiii.

[q] "Pray tell me what melancholy hath possessed poor Mr. Thorndike? And what do our friends think of his book? And is it possible that he would publish it, without ever imparting it, or communicating with them? His name and reputation in learning is too much made use of, to the discountenance of the poor Church: and though it might not be in his power to be without some doubts and scruples, I do not know what impulsion of conscience there could be to publish those doubts to the world, in a time when he might reasonably believe the worst use would be made, and the greatest scandal proceed from them." Chancellor Hyde to Barwick, writing from abroad, May 4, 1659; in Appendix to Barwick's Life of Dean Barwick, pp. 401, 402. ed. 1724 (also in White Kennet, and in Wren's Parentalia).—Compare Thorndike's own words in Pref. to Epilogue, § 1:—"It cannot seem strange, that a man in my case, removed by the force of the war from the service of the Church, should dedicate his time to the consideration of those controversies which cause division in the Church: for what could I do more to the satisfaction of my own judgment, than to seek a solution, what truth it is, the oversight whereof hath divided the Church; and, therefore, the sight whereof ought to unite it? but that I should publish the result of my thoughts to the world, this (even to them that cannot but allow my conversing with those thoughts) may seem to fall under the historian's censure, 'Frustra autem niti, neque aliud se fatigando nisi odium quærere, extremæ dementiæ est.'"—And again: "The opinion which I publish, being indeed the fruit of more time and leisure, of less engagement to the world, than others are under, will seem a charge upon those who engage otherwise: and when besides so much interest of this world depends upon the divisions of the Church, what am I to expect, but Great is Diana of the Ephesians?"—And again in § 6:—"If I be like a man with an arrow in his thigh, or like a woman ready to bring forth, that is, as Ecclesiasticus saith, like a fool, that cannot hold what is in his heart, I am in this, I hope, no fool of Solomon's, but, with St. Paul, a fool for Christ's sake."

the very words of the writer's own anticipations, and of the apt quotation with which he had accompanied them. Yet Clarendon after all represents in this case merely or mainly the statesman's view of such a subject, who is irritated by the impediments placed in the way of his own hopes and schemes through the indiscreet truthfulness of his own friends. The title of the book is the sole ground of the unfavourable portion of Jeremy Taylor's sentence, itself on the whole bearing respectful testimony to Thorndike's reputation, and moreover penned before he had seen the book itself[r]. And the title must be owned to be ill-chosen, and to give a very erroneous impression of the tone and temper of the book which it ushers in. That book was no Epilogue to the played-out tragedy of an extinct Church. It was in spirit, what against all expectation it proved to be in fact, the Prologue to the renewed life of a Church more vigorous than ever. He who would reform, believes in the existence, and in the value, of that which is to be reformed. And he who spent unlimited toil in searching out and measuring the foundations of a Church, then, humanly speaking, on the verge of extinction, assuredly believed in that Church's vitality. The book however certainly gave offence, although not such as to prevent even Clarendon himself from nominating its author to posts of influence when the Restoration came. In judging it, let it be remembered, that it is one thing to pull a house to pieces which is standing uninjured, in order to remedy unessential defects; another, to suggest improvements in the rebuilding of a house, at the time in ruins. And Thorndike expressly qualifies all his particular scruples as relating to minor points[s], which he would have let alone, had the Church been then established. And let it be remembered also, that the topics which gave greatest offence in his book are after all but secondary points, upon which the English Church has left each man to form his own judgment. The resolutely expressed approbation of prayer for

[r] See Taylor's words in his letter to Evelyn of June 4, 1659, quoted above in § 10, note d. Evelyn purchased the book, it seems, upon its first appearance, and sent it to Taylor with a commendation.

[s] Compare Thorndike's own words, already alluded to, in the Epil., Preface, § 9: "While all English people by the laws of the Church of England had sufficient and probable means of salvation ministered to them, it had been a fault to acknowledge a fault, which it was more mischief to mend than to bear with:" and compare also his Judgm. of Ch. of Rome, § 15.

the dead as offered by the primitive Church,—the allowing possibility of salvation to those within the Church of Rome, while the positions of the sectaries are denounced as fatal heresies if unrepented of,—the refusal to identify the pope with antichrist, or to stigmatize the Roman Church as a body with formal and unqualified idolatry,—are certainly not points ruled in the negative by the Church of England, and may be held at least without censure; especially if accompanied, as in this case they were, by a learned, nervous, and uncompromising condemnation of the papal supremacy, of image-worship, and of purgatory, and by a repeatedly expressed and evidently heartfelt indignation, grounded upon solid reasons, against the practical idolatry, the indulgences, the invocations of saints, the processions and images, and the private masses, of the actual Romish discipline. These obnoxious positions, moreover, do not constitute the main foundations or the really important arguments of Thorndike's book. He takes a far wider range, and digs his foundations far more deeply. Dividing his subject into three parts, which treat respectively of the rule of faith, of the covenant between God and the individual Christian, and of the laws to which each Christian is subject as a member of the Church, he takes a concise yet profound view of the controversies upon each of these main heads in order. In so doing, he is led to consider, but in subordination to the main principles of his own treatise, nearly every theological position of weight or novelty which was prominent at the time:—such as may be suggested by the names of Selden[t], Hobbes[u], Erastus[x], Louis du Moulin[y], Dr. Owen[z] the Independent, Capellus[a], Richworth the Romanist[b], Volkel[c] and the other Socinians, Dell[d] and the fanatics, Rutherford[e] and Twiss[f] and the extreme Calvinists, the Synod of Dort[g], Jansenius[h] and Molina[i], Jeremy

[t] Epil., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. ii., xi., and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 53, sq., and c. xxxiii.

[u] Ibid.

[x] Ibid., Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ii. § 11, c. xi. § 2, c. xviii. § 31; &c.

[y] Ibid., cc. xi., xix.

[z] Ibid., cc. xxxii., xxxiii.; Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxi.: &c., &c.

[a] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxxii. § 9.

[b] Ibid., c. xxix. § 23, and c. xxx.

[c] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., throughout.

[d] Ibid., c. v. § 6, note b, and the passages there referred to.

[e] Bk III. of the Laws of the Ch., c. vi. § 7, 8.

[f] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxi. § 6, &c.

[g] Ibid., cc. xxi. § 6, xxvi. § 34.

[h] Ibid., c. xxi. § 3, sq.

[i] Ibid., c. xxiv. § 18, c. xxvi. § 34.

Taylor's dogma respecting original sin[k], Andreas Vega[l], and Franciscus Sylvius[m], Mede's doctrines respecting antichrist[n], Moncæius and the dispute respecting idolatry[o], Chemnitz and the Ubiquitarians[p], Bayus and the Romish doctrines respecting the eucharistic sacrifice[q], Hammond[r] and Marsham[s] and Blondel[t], with their several theories upon the apostolic form of Church government, Bound and the Sabbath-day controversy[u], and last but not least important of all, Grotius[x]. And he concludes with a comparison of the existing condition of the Church of Rome, the Independents and Presbyterians, and the persecuted English Church, and with a hearty and forcible declaration of the duty of unshaken adherence to the last. In the main, he points to two principal truths of the Creed, the neglect of which, he says, lies at the root of all the errors of the time, while their due assertion would sufficiently define and protect all fundamental truth: first, the one Catholic Church, and next, and as depending on this principle, one baptism for the remission of sins. Condemning on the one hand the "sacrilegious pretence" of the infallibility of the present Church (in whomsoever residing), on the other, the equally groundless assertion that "all things necessary to salvation are clear in the Scriptures to all understandings," and the pretence of immediate inspiration,—the first of which extremes even learned Romanists themselves surrender, however inconsistently, while the two last named are a mere betrayal of the Gospel either to the Socinians or to the fanatics,—he in his first Book employs a learned and powerful logic in defence of the position, that the true ground of faith is to be found in the Scriptures,

[k] Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. xi., xix.
[l] Ibid., c. xxxii. § 9.
[m] Ibid., c. xxxiii. § 15.
[n] Ibid., c. xii. § 10.
[o] Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxvi.
[p] Ibid., c. iii.
[q] Ibid., c. v. § 12—18.
[r] Ibid., c. xvi. § 25.
[s] Ibid., c. xvii. § 9, 11; and Corrigenda to the volume.
[t] Ibid., c. xx. § 43, sq.
[u] Ibid., c. xxi. § 1.
[x] Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xiii. § 41; Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xvi. § 9; c. xxviii. § 4; c. xxix. § 20, &c.—In Epil., Pref., Thorndike defends Grotius against the mutually contradictory attacks of Baxter and Owen; one of whom called him a Papist, the other a Socinian. Baxter renewed his assertion notwithstanding, in his Disput. of Ch. Gov. and Worship (4to. Lond. 1659); where he says (Pref., p. 31), "One word to those that follow Grotius; I have shewed that he professeth himself a Papist; ... I hear Mr. Thorndike and others defend him, and some think I injure him by calling him a Papist." For Grotius and his real belief, see authorities quoted in a note at the end of the third volume of Bramhall's Works.

interpreted "within those bounds, which the rule of faith and the laws, given to the Church by our Lord and His apostles, and held and practised by the whole Church from the beginning, limit." He holds it further to be necessary to this office of witnessing to doctrine and discipline, that the Church should "be, or have been, from the beginning, one society, one visible body, communion, or corporation of men:" that is, a body, "with power in some to oblige the whole." And the stress of the reasoning in the first Book of his work lies chiefly in the proof of this part of his general position; the part of it most controverted, and in the formal extent of his own strongest statements of it, scarcely required in order to his main argument. The sufficiency and the canon of Scripture, the use of the Apocrypha, the authority of the LXX. and of the Hebrew text, and other kindred questions, follow, and complete the Book. The main position of the second Book, which takes up his second principle, is directed against antinomian and Socinian errors. The condition of the covenant of grace is there defined to consist in "a sincere and resolute profession to undertake Christianity, and live according to it, consigned to God in the hands of His Church by the sacrament of baptism." And justifying faith is defined accordingly to be "that trust which a Christian enters into by being baptized," and is distinguished on the one hand from its cause, which is a bare belief in the Gospel, and on the other from its effect, in "that trust in God through Christ, which Christianity warranteth." On the one side of this account lies the fatal error of the antinomian fanatics, resolving the faith which justifies, into the bare consciousness of individual predestination; to which that very different and more common dogma is logically akin, of making it to lie in a special faith and assurance of individual acceptance. On the other is the Socinian position, which resolves it into the free choice of men themselves upon conviction of their understandings, independent of any preventing grace of Christ. The former of these dogmas "acknowledges no condition to qualify us for the promises of the Gospel, but the immediate imputation of the merits and sufferings of Christ;" the latter "acknowledges no consideration of Christ in tendering or accepting the covenant

of grace, and the condition which it requires." A fair but uncompromising account of the Romish doctrine of justification is subjoined: with a resolution also against that other opinion, held in his earlier years by Thorndike himself[y], and supposed by him (it should seem upon scarcely adequate grounds) to be implied by the Homilies[z] but contradicted by the Catechism and Baptismal Service, and which he now surrenders, as not indeed prejudicial to the faith, but both untrue in itself, and likely to lead to the antinomian error, which is thus prejudicial, viz. that justifying faith is simply trust, but supposing also repentance. The necessity of the grace of Christ, the Divinity of our Lord as needful to His meriting that grace for man, original sin, the reconciling of the foreknowledge of God with contingency and with the freedom of men, the atonement and satisfaction of Christ, are also treated in order, as necessary to the entire statement of the Gospel covenant. And the subordinate questions of perseverance, of Christian perfection, of matters of precept and counsel, of the merit and satisfaction of Christian works, complete the Book. The third Book passes through a still more varied range of subjects: treating of the sacraments and the various questions arising concerning them, of penance, extreme unction, marriage, Church-government, and in particular of the papal supremacy and of the Presbyterian and Independent schemes; of the days, places, forms, and subject-matter of Divine service; of the state of souls after death; of prayer to saints, and image-worship; of monachism, and the celibacy of the clergy; and, lastly, of the relation of the ecclesiastical and civil powers. It must suffice to notice three of the most important positions maintained in so multifarious a discussion:—the first, —that "the elements in the eucharist are really changed from ordinary bread and wine" (which they do not cease to be) "into the Body and Blood of Christ mystically present as in a sacrament, and this in virtue of the consecration, not by the faith of him that receives;" but are so changed "only

[y] See above in § 6.

[z] See Epil., Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxx. § 16. The case seems to stand thus:—that certain isolated sentences of the Homilies, interpreted in a rigorous and technical sense, do express the doctrine in question; but the whole of the Homilies on the subject, taken together, and as a popular exposition of the doctrine, do not.

in order to the use of the elements," and therefore, "speaking properly, from the consecration to the receiving:" and with the further qualification, that, while "it is the visible profession of true Christianity, which makes the consecration of the eucharist effectual to make the Body and Blood of Christ sacramentally present in the elements," it is "the invisible faithfulness of the heart, in making good or in resolving to make good the said profession, which makes the receiving of it effectual to the spiritual eating and drinking of Christ's Body and Blood:"—secondly, that although the baptism of infants in danger of death is an apostolic tradition and necessary, yet, when there was no such danger, there was no apostolic tradition, but an act only of Church authority, to enforce infant-baptism:—lastly, that inward repentance is effectual in a Christian to obtain pardon of sin, without any further act of the Church, but that the Church is bound and has power to call upon notorious sinners to evidence their repentance by submitting to penance, and that the ministry of the Church so acting may be the requisite means to procure that true repentance which qualifies for pardon under the Gospel. Such is a brief outline of the contents of this most profound, most learned, and most honest, of theological treatises. The opportunity will occur hereafter[a] of noticing the criticisms of Barrow upon certain parts of the main position of the first Book of it, and of Henry More upon the chapters in the third on the subject of idolatry.

Is replaced in his preferments at the Restoration, and made Prebendary of Westminster.

§ 23. Such were the sufferings and the occupations, the literary works and religious troubles, of a Churchman during the Usurpation. With the Restoration Thorndike's worldly trials ended. It replaced him at once in his preferments, removed all anxieties about his personal safety or pecuniary means, opened the way to his further advancement, and (what was the greatest blessing of all) restored, with the monarchy, also the Church. The bright prospect, it is true, not for Thorndike only, but for the nation and Church of England, was soon overcast. There are few instances where high hopes and noble aspirations have more painfully contrasted with the actual issues of events. And disappointment awaited

[a] Below in § 40, 41. On the subject of the eucharist, Thorndike's final judgment is summed up in his Reform. of Ch. of Engl. &c., c. xxv. § 6. See below, § 35.

Thorndike, not only to a certain extent in his personal fortunes, but still more in his dearly cherished hopes of seeing a revived discipline and a more fervent piety in the Church, to which he had so faithfully clung. He received however his fair share both of trust and of preferment in the years immediately following the Restoration. In August 1660[b], by mandate of the Chancellor of the University, issued in compliance with an order of the House of Lords, he resumed his fellowship at Trinity College, in common with the other ejected members of the University of Cambridge[c]; the same hand that had perpetrated the injustice, being now compelled by a just retribution to become the instrument of its reversal. His incumbency of Barley revived likewise, although he does not appear to have resided there again[d]; and he surrendered that rectory, in order to keep his College fellowship, upon being appointed shortly after to a canonry of Westminster[e]. In March $166\frac{0}{1}$ he was named by the Crown as one of the assistants in the Savoy Conference on the side of the Church[f]. In the following May he appears as one of the proctors in Convocation for the clergy of the diocese of London[g]: to which he must have been elected in virtue of

[b] So the books of Trin. Coll.: and see Cooper's Annals of Cambr., under the date, and Thorndike's own letter to Sancroft of August 1660, above, no. XII. In 1661, under the head of extraordinaries, in the books of Trinity College, is an entry of £12, "paid to Mr. Thorndike" for "18 years' arrears as Concionator."

[c] See Cooper, ibid.; who gives a specimen of the Earl of Manchester's mandates as Chancellor for the re-instating of the masters and fellows, whom fifteen years before he had himself turned out.

[d] The entries in the Registers at Barley in 1660, 1661, and 1662, are in the same handwriting with those of the years immediately previous, and no name is entered in them as rector. (From information communicated by the Rev. R. A. Gordon.) Yet Thorndike must have been the rector during a great part of these years (see the next note), and must have appointed a curate. And he certainly would not have appointed either the intruded minister himself or any one that had acted for that minister. Consequently there must have been a change of curate in 1660. And Calamy also says, that Ball, the intruded minister, quitted Barley for Royston in 1660.

[e] See the rule about fellowships of Trinity College, above in § 7, note a. Thorndike must have given up Barley before he was installed prebendary of Westminster, i. e. before September 5, 1661. Dr. Frank, Archdeacon of St. Alban's, his successor, was instituted Feb. 2, $166\frac{2}{3}$, as upon the resignation of Herbert Thorndike, and by the presentation of the Bishop of Ely (Newcourt, vol. i. p. 800, White Kennet, pp. 329, 618, Walker, Pt. ii. p. 160).

[f] See below, § 25. The commission is in Wilkins' Concilia, tom. iv. p. 571, and in White Kennet, p. 398, and verbatim et literatim in Stephens' edit. of the Prayer-book, pp. 42—46. The name is spelt in it "Thorndicke," and the degree erroneously given as "Batchelor in Divinity." And the mistake is still further improved in Collier (folio, but uncorrected in the 8vo. edition) into D. D. That both are mistakes, see below in § 28.

[g] His Christian name is misprinted "Robert" in the list of members of this Convocation in White Kennet, p. 480; but appears correctly in the list of signatures to the revised Prayer-book on Dec. 20, 1661, ibid., p. 584.

his rectory of Barley as one of the proctors for the archdeaconry of St. Alban's, and chosen, with his colleague in Convocation, Dr. Haywood[h], by the Bishop of London (Sheldon), out of the representatives sent up by the clergy[i]. And, finally, upon September 5, 1661, upon the death of Dr. Matthew Nicholas, he was sworn in and installed, as above said, in a prebend of the Collegiate Church of Westminster[j].

Publishes a tract upon the Due Way of Composing the Differences in religion among Englishmen.

§ 24. His pen was employed at once upon the all-important subject of the re-establishment of the Church. The tract upon the Due Way of Composing the Differences amongst us, was published by him immediately upon the Restoration, in July 1660[k]: just before his re-settlement in his Cambridge fellowship, and while he was residing, as we learn by a letter to Sancroft[l], at the house of his friend Dr. Busby at Westminster. The comprehension of the more orthodox Presbyterians within the Church was the object of men's hopes at the time. The fear was, lest truth should be compromised in order to attain this object. Premising accordingly a renewed declaration respecting the two main points of heresy then prevalent, from misprision of which he conceived even the Presbyterians needed to clear themselves,—the denial of the claim of the Church Catholic to limit all measures of reformation, and the antinomian error, which substituted for the profession of Christianity in baptism the bare consciousness of individual predestination, as the faith that justifies,—Thorndike proceeds in this tract to apply his principles to the two great subjects of contention between the Church and the Presbyterians, episcopal government, and the order and

[h] Dr. Haywood was Rector of St. Giles's in the Fields, and was, it should seem, chosen proctor by the archdeaconry of Middlesex. He had been originally promoted by Laud. See Wood, Ath. Oxon.

[i] The diocese of London at the time consisted of five archdeaconries, but out of the proctors elected by the clergy of each, the bishop of the diocese chooses two, to represent the whole of the clergy in convocation. Baxter and Calamy were chosen at this time by the London clergy, i. e. apparently by the archdeaconry of London: so Baxter in his Life of himself, Pt. ii. p. 333.

[j] From the Chapter books at Westminster. So also Newcourt, vol. i. p. 921; Le Neve, White Kennet, Walker, Browne Willis, Carter.—On the previous 23rd of April Thorndike was present at the coronation of Charles in Westminster Abbey. See Reform. of Ch. of England &c., c. xli. § 2.

[k] So the advertisement prefixed to it in 1662. And see also Kennet, p. 244, who refers it to August in the same year.

[l] Of August $\frac{17}{27}$, 1660; above, in the Letters, no. XII. It appears by the next letter, no. XIII., written to Sancroft in December 1660, that Thorndike was then still pursuing his preparations for editing Origen.

ceremonies of Divine worship. On the first he proposes concessions, such as his earlier tracts prepare us to expect from him, and such moreover as ought, had they been formally offered, to have removed all barriers to union; other at least than those, which proved the real and insurmountable barriers to it, the pride of personal consistency, and the pain men feel in admitting themselves in the wrong. The plan of a presbytery as council to the bishop in each county town, acting as a tribunal of the first instance in all matters of government and discipline, with a reserve only of the bishop's negative in the ultimate resort, as it is pretty nearly what Charles offered in his well-known declaration of October 1660, so ought to have obtained assent from men holding tenets, such as were put forward at the time by Baxter and his friends. The proposal however included no concession upon the real (because the personal) question, that of re-ordination, the rock upon which attempts at compromise were mainly destined to split. And Charles, moreover, when he found how the current of public opinion set in England, departed from his own original offer, made indeed in the first instance without the concurrence of those whom it compromised: a breach of faith, for which he and not the Church was responsible, but of which the result was the denial of all concession upon the subject. The suggestions in the tract respecting the liturgy similarly ignore what proved to be the real barriers to a re-union. Laying stress on the undue preference hitherto accorded to preaching in comparison with prayer or the eucharist, on the singular contempt which the sectaries had bestowed upon the Psalms, and on their Sabbatarianism, Thorndike specifies for change one only of those small but practical points, round which religious disputes invariably concentrate themselves; and while offering to lay greater stress upon baptism by immersion and not by sprinkling (in order to meet the Anabaptists), says not a syllable of the surplice, or of the cross in baptism, and mentions kneeling at the communion only to insist upon it. The remarkable passage of the pamphlet however is the stress laid in it upon the Moravians, or *Unitas Fratrum Bohemorum;* brought into notice at the time by the writings and travels of John Amos Comenius. This singular person, who was a bishop of the persecuted and at that period nearly extinct

Moravians, and residing at the time in Amsterdam, was in communication in 1660, not only with mere literary correspondents like Hartlib[m], but with English clergy[n], among others possibly with Thorndike himself, seeking for aid and sympathy for his suffering Church. His position, as one of a body of continental reformers who with reformed doctrine had clung tenaciously to a personal succession of bishops[o], free also from the special errors which clung to the Lutheran and Calvinist bodies, and supposed (perhaps more than truth warranted) to harmonise more nearly with the teaching of the English Church, exactly fell in with Thorndike's most dearly cherished sentiments. The instance seemed at once to cut away from the Presbyterians one of their most telling popular arguments, viz. the parallel which they insisted upon drawing between the foreign reformers and themselves, and to transfer the fulcrum of external sympathy to Thorndike's own school in the English Church[p]. He forgot, that Comenius was something of an adventurer, and personally of no weight, and one who was fast sacrificing a high reputation in literature to a wild and crude fanaticism. And he made his case accordingly the foundation of an argument in his tract, identical with that, which Durell and Bingham afterwards pursued more widely and with respect to foreign reformers in general; while in other ways he appears to have pressed it upon unwilling ears, with a pertinacity successful only (as it would seem) in diminishing his own reputation for practical ability[q].

Assists in the Savoy Conference.

§ 25. In the following year he was placed in a position to urge his views officially and authoritatively. He was appointed (on March 25, 1661) to assist at the Savoy Con-

[m] See Comenius' letter to Charles II. in 1661, in Kennet; and the Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 44, note h; and Hartlib's letters in Worthington's Diary &c. as below in note q.

[n] See Due Way &c., ibid.

[o] The story of their search for a bishop, and of the difficulties they encountered in the course of it, will be found in the authorities cited ibid., § 46, note m.

[p] The same feelings drew the late Mr. Arthur Percival's attention to the Moravians in 1841; and something of the same kind occurred also in 1749. See ibid., § 44, note h.

[q] "What the Convocation is about, is but little as yet. There hath been something to do to bring Mr. Thorndike amongst them; for he doth not agree with them in all things, speaking much of the orders of the Bohemian Churches, called Unitas Fratrum." S. Hartlib, writing the year after the Restoration, viz. May 28, 1661, to Dr. Worthington, who had been Head of Jesus College, Cambridge, until the month of general restitution there, viz. August 1660: in Crossley's edition of Worthington's Diary for the Cheetham Society, p. 315. See Bayle's Dict., for Comenius.

ference[r]: possibly under the impression that he would be acceptable to the Presbyterian party, some of whom certainly had regarded him at one time with favour, although now to be effectually undeceived and proportionably irritated[s]. In the actual management however of the argument in that fruitless and jangling disputation, he does not seem to have taken a very active part, speaking only once in the course of it: a fact for which we may trust Baxter, although the tone of his remarks, not only upon Thorndike's conduct but upon the Conference generally and upon all concerned with it, may be fairly set to the account of the one infirmity of that otherwise saintly man, a presumptuous and irritable temper[t], aggravated by a sense of failure. Thorndike indeed was only an assistant to the principal members of the commission on the Church side[u], who were all of them bishops; and was moreover placed at the end of the list of assistants, as being the only one who did not possess a doctor's degree. The history of the Conference itself, therefore, need not here be given; depending so little as it did on Thorndike's personal management. Suffice it to say, that although it was to last no longer than four months, yet it delayed its first meeting until April 15, and expired by lapse of time upon July 24; with little other result than the negative although important one, of putting the Presbyterians out of court, in the national judgment, in the settlement of the Church. It served in truth to aggravate both sides by the excitement of a fruitless disputation, not rendered less naked and repulsive by the technical logic, which then for the last time figured in a real argument,—to prove manifestly, that neither side was prepared to make any material concessions to the other,—to bring out palpably the fact, that the questions at issue between the Church, and the only large and respectable body of dissenters from her then existing, turned, by the shewing of the latter themselves, upon secondary points, which had nothing to do with the essentials of religion,—

[r] See above, § 23, note f. And see also Collier, and Cardwell's Conferences, for an account of that held at the Savoy. Baxter's account of it is in his Life of himself, edited by Sylvester.

[s] See Baxter's words, quoted above in § 10, note f. That Thorndike was in London April 23, see above in § 24, note j.

[t] See his own most noble confession of his change of sentiment as years grew upon him, written towards the end of his life, in his autobiography edited by Sylvester, Pt. i. p. 126.

[u] And the assistants, nine in number on each side, were appointed only to supply the places of absentees among their respective twelve principals.

and to leave the Presbyterians under the irritating conviction, that their cause had been so managed, as to appear to the world, whatever it might be in reality, captious and presumptuous, factious and unreasonable. They had sought indeed to take advantage of two inconsistent pleas; by alleging, on the one hand, the "sinfulness" of the Church view of the points in dispute, and yet attempting to appropriate to themselves St. Paul's injunction of forbearance towards weak brethren. And when towards the close of the Conference the practical suggestion made through Bishop Cosin brought this point to the surface, they were driven to the dilemma of advancing two replies, both of them futile and preposterous; and either contradicting their own original concession, retracted indeed as soon as made, of the indifference of the disputed points, by alleging instances of things *not* indifferent, an attempt in which their success under such circumstances was but feeble, or advancing the equivocal position,—monstrous as applied to their own case, in any true sense inapplicable, —that "acts in themselves lawful become unlawful by being commanded[v]." And to this mismanagement of the argumentative part of the dispute must be added the extempore liturgy[x], and forward disputatious conduct, of the leading Presbyterian, Baxter himself; whose own account of the Conference, penned many years afterwards, bears ample evidence of the perverse and angry spirit with which he came to the question, and to whom indeed nearly all parties agreed in assigning in large part the failure of the attempt[y]. It need only here be added, that both in the general views, and in the particular decisions, of the leading Churchmen in the Conference, Thorndike obviously coincided: that he was, like them, not prepared to surrender the Prayer-book as a whole, the amendment of which was the very basis of the Conference, at the preposterous demand of the Presbyterian deputies, and to

[v] See, for all this, the notes to the Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences &c., sect. i. § 2, 3.

[x] Viz. a liturgy, complete and with rubrics, prepared in a fortnight by one man, of strong prejudices and slight learning, and offered as a substitute for the Prayer-book, and that to a body assembled expressly to revise the Prayer-book.

[y] E. g. Bp. Rust in his Protestant Peacemaker, published some years afterwards, viz. in 1682 (see Zouch's edit. of Walton's Life of Sanderson); and Bps. Morley, Pearson, and Sanderson, at the time (see Walton's Life of Sanderson, in the latter's Works, vol. vi. pp. 336, 337, ed. Jacobson): and for the soreness of Baxter's own friends, see his Life of himself, ed. by Sylvester, Pt. ii. pp. 364, 379, 433, 436. See also Cardwell's Conferences.

allow in its place, at the minister's option, the crude and hasty crotchets of a single person, a good man indeed, but neither learned nor unprejudiced nor sober-minded; and that in the special points also, which came under review, he was in most cases equally disinclined to concession. The use of the Apocrypha, the propriety of imposing a rule with respect to ceremonies in themselves indifferent, the absolute necessity of prohibiting extempore prayer (especially in the bidding prayer), the particular rubric of kneeling at the Holy Communion, the distinctive offices of priest and deacon, the baptism of children without reference to the faith of their parents, the value of confirmation, and, finally,—what was almost the only doctrine of primary importance touched by the Presbyterians, and even that, let it be noted, not with reference to the question of predestination, nor to that of sacramental grace, but solely with respect to the discipline of the Church, —baptismal regeneration, were all points upon which Thorndike has expressed sentiments in his published writings in strict accordance with the decisions then made respecting them by the Church of England. And the principle upon which his feeling of the importance of these sentiments rested, was this—that to take up a ground not justified by the primitive Catholic Church, would be to abandon the one tenable and impregnable position now occupied by our own branch of the Church against all dissenters, alike against the Presbyterians themselves, and against the Church of Rome. The questions indeed of discipline, and of Church-government, were the only two subjects, upon which his special views and those of the Nonconformists could have borne even a semblance of harmony: and a closer examination would shew, that in these too his main principle was the limit of his concessions, as it was also their ground[z].

Shares in the revision of the Prayer-book as a

§ 26. During the progress of the Conference, Thorndike had become also, as above said, a member of Convocation; which was summoned upon April 11, to meet upon May 8, in 1661[a]. Its formal labours until the end of July were

[z] Pearce, who was one of the ablest of the advocates of the Nonconformist cause, urges as on Thorndike's authority, as "one of the Commissioners for the Church at the Savoy," that at that time "a reformation" (of the Church) "was thought absolutely necessary for union" (Conformists' Plea for Nonconformists, 3rd edit. 1783, p. 36,—first publ. in 1681). He forgets to say, what the "reformation" was, that is intended in the passages of Thorndike's Works to which he refers.

[a] See above, § 23, note g.

member of the Convocation of 1661.

almost entirely confined to the preparation of some of the single prayers then added to the Liturgy[b], and of occasional and special services, as for baptizing adults, for May 29 and January 30 (the alterations of that for the fifth of November dating in April of the following year), and for the fast-day of June 12, 1661[c]. But Cosin, and the leading bishops, with Sancroft for their amanuensis, were meanwhile preparing elaborate emendations of the entire Prayer-book, to form the basis of a revision of it so soon as the Savoy Conference should close[d]. The Upper House of Convocation did not appoint its committee for that revision until November 21, almost three months afterwards: but they proceeded with great speed, by the aid of the work previously done in private, when the business once commenced; and a joint committee of both Houses on December 13, was followed by the approval of the Prayer-book, and by its signature by the two Convocations, of Canterbury and of York, united for the time for that one act, upon Dec. 20. In the earlier and spring portion of these sessions, as we learn by Hartlib's letter already quoted[e], Thorndike took little part: though whether for the reason assigned by Hartlib or not, is another question. In the later portion of them, which were those concerned with the revision of the Prayer-book, we are informed by a later witness (writing however upon what was not impossibly Sancroft's information), that "he constantly attended and had a hand more than ordinary in the business[f]."

[b] e. g. that for the Parliament.

[c] See the Acts in Wilkins and in Kennet, and the abstract of those of the Lower House in D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft. The service for Jan. 30, put out by Royal authority in 166⅘, was only revised by the Convocation. See D'Oyly, vol. i. pp. 112, sq.; answering Burnet. And below in note h.

[d] See the account in Cardwell's Conferences, or Lathbury's Hist. of Convocation, and more precisely and fully in the Preface to Cosin's Works, vol. v. Anglo-Cath. edition.

[e] See above, § 24, note q. The date of the letter, May 28, is a bare three weeks after the meeting of Convocation. Thorndike was at Cambridge 4½ weeks in the end of 1660, one week in the spring and two in the summer of 1661, and not again until the middle of 1662.

[f] From a book, anonymous, but written probably by Spinckes and certainly by a nonjuror of his particular views, and published in 1718, under the title of Mr. Collier's Desertion Discussed, or the Holy Offices of Worship in the Liturgy of the Church of England Defended, p. 106. Collier had claimed Thorndike's authority in favour of prayer for the dead: to which his opponent replies by alleging Thorndike's share in the Convocation of 1661, in the strong terms quoted above in the text, and inferring, that "whatever his private opinion" (about prayer for the dead) "was before, he was then of another mind, because 'tis certain he declared his unfeigned assent and consent to all things then altered, and conformed to it all the rest of his life." The inference, it is true, is ill-founded. For Thorndike certainly continued till his death to regard the omission of prayer for the dead as an imperfection in the English liturgy; although the

The records of Chapter-meetings at Westminster, which prove him to have been upon the spot the whole time; his intimacy with Sancroft, and continual intercourse with him at this period and afterwards, and the harmony of sentiment that prevailed between them; and, finally, the subsequent appointment of Thorndike[g] as one of the commissioners to examine and certify the sealed books; confirm the statement. He was doomed however, in common with Sancroft himself, to find but a portion of his own especial wishes respecting the reform of the liturgy adopted by Convocation. It may be seen from Cardwell's account of the proceedings of that assembly, that while the bent of its inclinations lay strongly in what may for shortness be called the Laudian direction, it was checked by the equally strong jealousy of that school of opinion felt, notwithstanding its marked Royalist and Church bias, by the then House of Commons. Accordingly, —while the demands of the Presbyterians were almost wholly ignored, on the ground no doubt that the Savoy Conference had proved them unreasonable,—of the changes proposed in the amended Prayer-book, prepared under the direction of Cosin and other bishops, as above said, those only were adopted, which (in the language of Cardwell) "would not bring in new grounds of controversy." And Thorndike, with his friend, while congratulating themselves upon the general tendency of all the actual changes[h], must have lamented, that caution and fear of offence still refused to do more than commemorate, without praying for, the departed saints, in the prayer, not "for the Church Catholic," but "for the Church militant here on earth;" still shrunk from replacing the

bare omission of a secondary and unessential practice would have been, in his judgment, as indeed in truth, a very miserable reason for refusing to subscribe to the book.

[g] The commission to examine, correct, and certify, the sealed copies of the revised Prayer-book, dated Nov. 2, 1662, is in Stephens' edit. of the Prayer-book, pp. 100—102.

[h] E. g., the addition of the rubric about "covering what remaineth of the elements;" and the change of "real and essential" into "corporal" presence, in the rubric (now restored) respecting the reasons for kneeling at the Lord's Supper: both of them proposed by Sancroft. The Presbyterians in the Savoy Conference requested the restoration of the latter rubric. Again, the insertion of the clause respecting saints departed at the end of the prayer for the Church-militant, which was part but not all of what Thorndike desired: the addition of "schism" to "heresy," in the Litany (of which Andrew Marvel complains, Rehears. Transp., p. 306): the directing the absolution to be pronounced by the "priest," instead of the "minister:" the change of "bishops, pastors, and ministers of the Church," in the litany, into "bishops, priests, and deacons:" and of the word "congregation" into "Church:" the additional clause in the ordinal, marking more distinctly the office of bishop in contrast with that of priest. See the entire list in Cardwell or Keeling.

prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the elements in the consecration-prayer in the communion-service; still retained the prayer of oblation in the same service in its later and (as he thought) more unsuitable place[i]; and still trembled to stop, what had proved the copious fountain of sedition and of heresy during the previous troubles, by imposing (although they had proceeded so far as to draw up) a form of bidding prayer[j]. Yet all these points were in his opinion points only "of less moment[k]." And he expressly maintains the existing communion-service to "deserve all that hath been said in defence of it," to "be agreeable to the intent of God's Church," and to profess the essential doctrine of the sacrament, "as plainly as the liturgies of the ancient Church[l]." While at least he must have been cheered by the reflection, that no important point, whether of doctrine or of practice, had been compromised; and that if something, in his judgment, still remained to be done, at any rate nothing had been undone, and a good deal had been gained. Upon one subject indeed he may have probably felt a more keen disappointment. If we are to judge by his tract written during the sessions of Convocation (the Just Weights and Measures), he would appear to have wished for some distinct enunciation of the principle of conformity to the primitive, and submission to the Catholic, Church; as constituting the one tenable ground, upon which the demands of the Nonconformists as well as the attacks of the Romanists could be consistently and reasonably repelled. Now the Convocation did incidentally and to a cer-

[i] It appears—by a Prayer-book (of 1619) in the Library of the Univ. of Durham, containing MS. emendations by Cosin, and subsequently by Sancroft, of which the latter were probably the work of either Cosin or other bishops with Sancroft for their amanuensis, and by another Prayer-book (of 1634) in the Bodleian Library, containing a fair transcript for the printer in Sancroft's writing of these joint emendations,—that all the changes mentioned in the text were proposed to Convocation. Indeed our present form of communion-service, and a form similar to the Scotch, are both in the latter of the two books just described, and evidently were both submitted to Convocation, and "left to censure." See also above in note d, and the Ecclesiologist for Oct. 1849, p. 149.—That Thorndike desired such changes, see Just Weights and Measures, c. xxii. § 7—9: and that the leading bishops would have gladly accepted them, had they thought it consistent with prudence, may be inferred from their known opinions. Compare also the prayer in the original service for Jan. 30, quoted in part by Cardwell, and actually used in 166?; which expressly recognises both prayer for the dead and prayer of the saints in heaven for the Church on earth. This part of it was struck out, when the service was revised and annexed to the liturgy, by the Convocation.

[j] See Cardwell, p. 371, from Kennet.

[k] See his Judgment of the Church of Rome, § 15.

[l] Just Weights and Measures, c. xxii. § 4, 7: and True Princ. of Comprehens., sect. iv.

tain extent recognise such a principle, in the Preface prefixed by them to the revised Prayer-book; where they condemn the larger part of the Presbyterian proposals, "as secretly striking at some established doctrine or laudable practice of the Church of England, or indeed of the *whole Catholic Church* of Christ." But no more formal recognition of such a doctrine was adopted, if indeed it was ever proposed: not certainly because that doctrine was denied or doubted, but (as may be fairly supposed) because it was deemed impolitic or superfluous to open the question at this particular time. Such then would be Thorndike's position in relation to this most important Convocation: the Convocation, from whence dates the imposition of our present formularies, and which therefore claims, so far as the *animus imponentis* is a rule of interpretation at all, the right of interpreting them. Agreeing with its general tone of sentiment, joining heartily, both in the changes which it actually made, and in its refusal to admit of change in the other points excepted to by the Presbyterians, but thinking probably that its leading members were too submissive to popular or political opinion in drawing the line where they did with respect to change in the opposite direction, he in the main must have acquiesced with satisfaction in the result; desiderating chiefly, as its necessary complement, and as indeed the great reform for which the Church sorely cried, the restoration of discipline. The present is not the place for discussing either the expediency or the correctness of the few points above mentioned, wherein he held it to have fallen short of the mark. Suffice it to say, that nothing but wilful prejudice can confound them with Romanism. The first of them indeed, in Thorndike's sense, may be found sharply contrasted with the Roman, as being itself the primitive, view, by no less a person than Archbishop Ussher: while the changes in the communion-service have been adopted by the American Church in her edition of our common Service Book, among changes made in a spirit precisely the reverse of that which would diminish the barriers against Roman doctrine.

Publishes his Just Weights and Measures.

§ 27. The business of revising the canons and discipline of the Church had been started in Convocation early in 1661; and the Royal licenses for the purpose were obtained upon June 7 and June 9 of that year. Attention was anew di-

rected to the subject in January 166½, upon the completion of the Prayer-book; and it was pursued for some months, until the following May, and possibly later, but ultimately came to nothing[m]. During this time, considering the question of the liturgy as only "provisionally" settled[n] (an unpractical, and, as time has proved, a groundless opinion), while that of discipline was still under discussion[o], Thorndike again resorted to his pen in order to urge his views upon his brethren; preserving however a discreet silence respecting the Moravians, although he could not refrain from one slight expression of annoyance at the inattention shewn towards his long-cherished project respecting Cathedral Chapters[p]. His Just Weights and Measures, obviously written after the termination of the Savoy Conference, but previously to the final passing of the Act of Uniformity[q], and (as above said) during the sessions of Convocation which revised the Prayer-book, appeared in January 166½[r]. Of this book it must suffice here to say, that it is a brief *resumé* of the contents of the Epilogue, its title indicating the duty of an honest and consistent application of the principles there laid down: and that its practical proposals, besides a scheme of more frequent services, to be attained by dividing the present services differently[s], were mainly two, the prevention of pluralities by restraining clergy to their own dioceses, in connection with the colleges of presbyters already mentioned[t], and the restoration of penance, public or private, and of the discipline of the Church[u]. The topic last mentioned fell in so closely with the feelings of the better Pres-

[m] See the Acts of the Convocation in Kennet or Wilkins: and Collier, Ch. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 889, 891; and Lathbury.

[n] Just Weights and Measures, c. xxv. § 7.

[o] Ibid., c. xxiv. § 9.

[p] "I insist on that which I have proposed already, although no heed is given to it." Ibid., § 5.

[q] i. e., between August 1661 and April 1662. Reference is made in the work repeatedly (e.g., c. xvi. § 6) to what passed at the Conference. On the other hand, a rubric of the unrevised Prayer-book is quoted (c. xiv. § 3) as "the order of this Church," and the settlement of the Act of Uniformity is spoken of as "the laws that may presently be provided" (c. xxv. § 7). The book must have been written during the sessions of Convocation which revised the Prayer-book, although it did not appear until the month after that revision was completed.

[r] White Kennet, p. 618.

[s] c. xxii.

[t] c. xxiv. § 1—6.

[u] Ibid., § 7—11.—It appears by the Chapter books of Westminster, that upon July 1, 1662, the Dean and Canons met in Chapter and subscribed the declarations required by the Act of Uniformity, and that Thorndike was not present. He had signed the Prayer-book as a member of Convocation on the previous 20th of December: and either this was sufficient, or he must have signed the declarations in question on another occasion.

byterians as well as of Churchmen, as to make it a less hopeless design, than carelessness and worldliness and long desuetude now unhappily render it.

Resumes his residence at Cambridge, in broken health.

§ 28. Solicitude and hard labour, acting on a constitution already broken, resulted in a severe illness at this time, from which Thorndike never wholly recovered[x]. He accordingly quitted London and resumed his residence at Cambridge in the end of 1662, or the beginning of 1663[y], after a nearly continuous residence upon his canonry from the day of his appointment to it[z]; and for the next four years (from 1663 to the middle of 1666) appears to have divided his time pretty equally between his College and Westminster[a]. Academic associations probably, or the collegiate advantages attendant upon the higher degree[b], led him at this time to desire, what he had deferred until long past the usual time for it, his degree in divinity. And in conjunction with his friends Oley and Thurscross, he procured a Royal mandate for the purpose[c], at

[x] He speaks of his illness as six years ago, when writing to Lightfoot in 1669; see Letters, no. XVI. He had been thenceforward forbidden to study. See also above in § 21, and the Preface to his Latin book in 1670.

[y] His College "chambers" were repaired for him by the College at an expense of £3 10s. 10d., in 1663, "after his return into College," as appears by the College books. He seems to have quitted Westminster, no doubt after completing his examination of the sealed books, between Dec. 13 and Dec. 15, 1662; and was present at only two Chapters, viz. March 9 and June 4, in 1663 (n.s.); as appears by the Chapter-books. However he left Cambridge on Feb. 16, 166$\frac{3}{4}$, as appears by an old Exit-book of the College ("leaving Dr. Boreman as deputy senior"); and spent April 1663 in town, since he wrote to Sancroft, evidently from town, upon April 11 and 25 of that month. Moreover his nephew's baptism (see below, § 31) upon April 18, 1663, at Westminster, was an event, from which, considering its circumstances, he could not have been absent.

[z] The Chapter books and those of Trinity College sufficiently shew this. — We have one other mention of Thorndike at this date, viz. as in communication with Pocock. "In the end of ... May 1662, Mr. Thorndike in a letter to our author (Pocock) recommends a Jew of Amsterdam to him, whose business at Oxford was the vending of a book which he had printed, and which Mr. Thorndike conceives to be a fit entrance into the reading of the Rabbins. He also expresses some hopes, that this Jew might be converted to the Christian religion." Twells, Life of Pocock, pp. 271, 272. The letter itself has shared the fate of the other letters of Thorndike in Twells's hands. See above, § 16, note b. It is amusing to find so early an instance of a begging practice, that must call up in College residents, of more modern date than Pocock, many unpleasant memories of petty discomfort.

[a] He resided 2 weeks at Cambridge in the fourth quarter of 1662, but 21 weeks in 1663, 27$\frac{1}{2}$ in 1664, 29$\frac{1}{2}$ in 1665, 11$\frac{1}{2}$ in the beginning of 1666 (the year ending in each case at Michaelmas). The Chapter-books tally with this. His college rooms were those "on the right hand side of the great gateway on the first floor, afterwards tenanted by Sir Isaac Newton." See also Edleston's Correspondence of Newton, p. xliii. note 13.

[b] The divinity degree was not imperative upon fellows of Trinity College Cambridge by their former statutes (those prior to 1844); but certain offices were open only to seniors who had taken such a degree, and certain payments were made to them. See Monk's Life of Bentley, c. vii. pp. 128—131.

[c] "Charles R., Trusty and well-

that time no unusual proceeding, dispensing with all burdens attendant on the promotion; and obtained also on his own part from the University Senate a very singular grace to a somewhat similar effect[d]. Neither Oley nor himself however actually proceeded to the degree; and Thurscross, the third of the three friends, delayed doing so until 1669[e].

beloved, we greet you well. Having considered the learning, piety, and integrity of Herbert Thorndike, M^r. of Arts, Timothy Thurscrosse, Bac. of Divinity, and Barnabas Oley, M^r. of Arts, and how eminently they have served the Church: we have thought fit by these presents to recommend them unto you, to be created doctors in divinity, willing and requiring you forthwith to admit them to the said degree, to take place and precedency, according to their severall and respective seniorities, without being obliged to any subsequent exercises or duties, whereupon they cannot conveniently attend: any statute, usage, or custome of that our University to the contrary notwithstanding, wherewith we are graciously pleased to dispense in this behalfe. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 14th day of Aprill, 1663. By his Majesties command, HENRY BENNET.—To our trusty and well-beloved the Vice Chancellor &c.—Lect. et publicat. per D^rem. Rainbow Procan. in Domo Regentium 17° Junii 1663."—From Baker's MSS. in the Univ. Library of Cambridge, vol. xxv. p. 289.—Baker adds, that this mandate, "for the first and last," viz. Thorndike and Oley, was "never accepted" (Wood's Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, vol. ii. col. 302). Certainly it was not acted upon in their cases; but it is no less certain, that the University would not have refused compliance with the Royal mandate. On the other hand, in the Historical Notes relating to the Ferrars, published by Hearne (Caii Vindiciæ, vol. ii. p. 690. Oxon. 1730), this mandate, for Oley, "and Mr. Herbert Thorndike (*not sought for*), and one other, to be doctors of divinity," is mentioned, with the addition, that "they" (scil. Oley and Thorndike) "were possibly the only men that refus'd that honour when offered them." And see Twells as quoted in the next note.—There were no less than 121 doctors of divinity made by mandate between 25 June 1660, and 2 March 166⅘.

[d] "14° Maii, 1663. Cum Herbertus Thorndike, S. Tr. Coll. Soc. et Westmonaster^i: Eccl̃æ Prebendarius ad nullos in S. T. gradus de industria hactenus aspiraverit, ne Vice Mag^i. vel Decani superioris onus in prædicto Collegio subire per leges necesse haberet; Placeat vobis ut annum jam 5tum supra 60^m agens missionem impetret, et concessa in posterum ab omni munere Academico vacatione (in quantum per statuta fieri possit) quasi rude donatus locum inter doctores in exedrio novissimum obtineat" (From the Books of Cambr. University.)—This grace is also in Cole's MSS (Addit. MSS. vol. 5843. p. 186, in the Brit. Mus.), as from Mr. Buck's book (a Cambridge bedel of that name) among the graces for degrees conferred by mandate; and it is printed also, apparently from the same source, by Twells in his Life of Pocock. In both it is dated "April 15, 1663:" i. e. the day after the Royal mandate. It is obvious however from Thorndike's own letters of April 11 and April 25, 1663 (above, nos. XIV., XV.), that although thought of as early as April, yet it was not settled so soon. Probably April 15 was the day when it was drawn up in its first form: and certainly May 14 was the day when it passed the Cambridge Senate.

[e] For Thurscross's degree, see the list of Cambridge graduates under 1669, and Thorndike's letter to Sancroft in 167⅘; above, no. XVII. There can be no doubt of the fact that neither Thorndike nor Oley took the degree; although the former is wrongly styled D.D. very frequently. Not only Aubrey (see above in § 5. p. 171, note a), but Calamy (Life and Times of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 362), and even Henry More (Appendix to Antidote to Idolatry, Works, p. 816, first published in 1673), although a Cambridge man, speak of "Dr. Thorndike." And Andrew Marvel (Rehearsal Transprosed) makes the same mistake. Carter also, in his Hist. of Cambridge, calls him S. T. B. thrice over (pp. 326, 342, 378). See also above, p. 150, note m. And see also the similar mistake in the Commission for the Savoy Conference, above, § 23, note f.

Possibly the expense of the degree, even at that time no trifling sum[f], or the prospect of vacating his fellowship, which he did a few years afterwards, may have caused Thorndike to refrain from the step. At any rate it is evident, from the trouble bestowed by him upon the terms in which his grace was to be couched, that it is not a perfectly fair statement of the case to say that the degree was "freely offered" to him, and "declined[g]:" although there is equally little ground for interpreting the words, in which Baker mentions the subject, to mean that the degree was sought by himself and refused[h]. His College residence however, although neither so highly honoured nor so gratuitously annoyed, must have been attended with very mingled feelings both of comfort and of sadness. On the one hand, of the fellows ejected with himself, several (such as Sclater, Row, Babington, Cowley the poet, Samways, Clement Neville) were restored[i]: although varying causes, the death of some, the promotion of others, had dispersed the greater number of his old University and College friends. Some again, as for instance Duport and Boreman, had continued in possession throughout the Usurpation. And of the new comers, the Masters were Ferne (1660—1662) and Pearson (1662—1673[j]): and among the juniors was Isaac Barrow, with whom it is mentioned that Thorndike was upon intimate terms[k]. The College also, although gradually declining

[f] The degree of Doctor of Divinity cost, in 1648, £40 and sixpence (Heywood and Wright, vol. ii. p. 527); of which however more than £23 went for suppers.

[g] Twells says of the degree, that "though freely offered, they both" (i. e. Oley and Thorndike) "declined" it; "but it was more for the honour of Mr. Thorndike, that April 15, 1663, a grace past the House to this effect," viz. that in note d. And see Hearne as in note c.

[h] See note c. The mandate would have been conclusive, and the grace was certainly passed.

[i] See the Gough MS. already quoted, Walker's Sufferings &c., and Carter.

[j] Le Neve.—Thomas Gale, and Thorndike's old pupil Lynnet, also were fellows, and Isaac Newton was among the undergraduates. Ray, the naturalist, and the intimate friend of Barrow's undergraduateship, was likewise a fellow at the time of the Restoration: but upon "Oct. 2, 1660," it was "ordered, that Mr. Wray have time till the 10th of this month for the making up his accounts of the stewardship, and giving in his final resolution as to conformity" (Conclusion-Book of Trin. Coll., Cambr.); and his fellowship determined, through his refusal to conform, before Thorndike came back into residence.

[k] "It is the learned Mr. Thorndyke he" (Barrow) "disputes against" (viz. in the Disc. of the Unity of the Church), "but that did not abate the intimate friendship that was between them." Abraham Hill's Life of Barrow, prefixed to Barrow's Works. This sentence appears in the edition of Barrow's English Works printed at London 1716, 3 vols. folio, last page but one of the Life. In the earlier editions of that Life (e. g. those of 1683, 1687, and 1700, the first-named of which was the original edition), the words do not occur. Hill died in 1721.

towards the close of the century[l], did not lose its prestige at once. And the outward form and law of the University, in the hands of the restored Masters and fellows, was such as Thorndike would have wished. But the same cannot be said for the inner academical life of the time. The profligate morals of the age quickly spread into the Colleges. Even in February $16\frac{59}{60}$, we find Pepys[m] recording, that "there was nothing at all left of the old preciseness in the discourse" of the fellows of his own College (Magdalene); while, ten years afterwards, the history of Scargill[n] may shew what progress atheistical principles had by that time made in the University. And the decay of learning among the mass of students, lamented by Sancroft in 1663[o], although arising in great part, not from the Puritan troubles only, but from the transition-state of University studies between the old and the new philosophy, yet is a sure index in the Academic body, however it may be with individuals, of a similarly low standard of conduct. Among the more talented members of the governing body, at the same time, the Worthingtons and the Whichcots and the Cudworths and the Mores, by a natural reaction from the strict Calvinism which the usurpation had revived in Cambridge as elsewhere, principles of theology were beginning to gain strength, of which it would rather be said that they made light of orthodoxy than departed from it, did not Rust's and More's Platonical speculations on pre-existence and resurrection give too much ground for the latter and the heavier charge as well[p]. The connection also of the party thus formed with Episcopius, which was not a mere imputation of

[l] See Monk's Life of Bentley, c. vii. pp. 110, 111. The munificence of Hacket, Sclater, and Babington, and of the College itself, completed Neville's quadrangle within a few years after the Restoration, bringing the College (except a certain modernizing of the Master's house and the Combination Room, by Bentley and in 1771, partially got rid of in 1842) pretty much to its present state as regards buildings. See its previous state described in Evelyn's Diary under the date of 31 Aug. 1654.

[m] See the extract from his Diary in Cooper under the date.

[n] See above in the Disc. of Forb. or Penalties, c. xxii. note u: and Wood's Athen. Oxon. ed. Bliss, and Cooper under the year 1669.

[o] "It would grieve you to hear of our public examinations: the Hebrew and Greek learning being out of fashion every where, and especially in the other Colleges, where we are forced to seek our candidates for fellowships; and the rational learning they pretend to, being neither the old philosophy, nor steadily any one of the new. In fine, though I must do the present society right, and say, that divers of them are very good scholars, and orthodox (I believe), . . . yet methinks I find not that old genius and spirit of learning," &c. Sancroft to Wright (a former tutor of the College) when Head of Emmanuel, January 17, 166$\frac{3}{4}$; in D'Oyly's Life, vol. i. p. 128.

[p] The formal beginning of the "Latitude-men," or Latitudinarians, dates from Whichcot's Sermons, and

adversaries (like the Arminianism of pre-Usurpation times), but was avowed and open, increased and strengthened the dislike felt towards them. On both subjects we find Thorndike's feelings strongly expressed in a tract written just after the termination of his College residence[q]. And the inclination of the talent and of the goodness of the rising generation in the University towards the new views of theology as well as the "new philosophy," must have placed him in that uncomfortable position of being behind his age, which is too often the lot of older men, and especially of those whose views are cast in a somewhat stiff and uncompromising mould. Thorndike however did not altogether share in his friend Duport's naive horror at the progress of physical science at this time in the University, and at the consequent deposition of Aristotle from his long-protracted dominion[r]. On the contrary, there are one or two indications[s], besides some statements in his own letters[t], which shew him to have had at one time a strong inclination for both medical and physical studies; a fact confirmed by his interest in Bishop Seth Ward's disputation in 1638[u].

Vacates his fellowship.

§ 29. In 1666 the plague drove him from Cambridge[v]. And in June 1667, after returning into residence for a few weeks, he vacated his fellowship. The statutes of Trinity College then in force ordained, that if any College property were leased to a fellow, his fellowship should become vacant the moment that the College seal was affixed to the lease. And the immediate act that determined Thorndike's tenure, was his acceptance of a lease of the tithes of Trumpington parish from the College, to which the official seal was

Tuckney's letters to him about them, in 1651. And by 1662 they were recognised and named as a school or sect, of which Cambridge was the principal seat. See the notes to the True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. ii. and sect. xi.; for an account of them, and of the tenets of More and Rust. Glanvil, the earliest of the Platonic section of them, was of Oxford. But the junction of such sentiments with a mystic philosophy was a mere accident. The bulk of the school, Chillingworth and Fowler, Tillotson and Wilkins, and the honoured names of Patrick and Stillingfleet, and even Barrow, who must to a certain extent be reckoned in the list, had nothing to do with any particular philosophical school.

[q] True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. vii. (written in 1667); and compare also Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xix. (written in 1670).

[r] See Monk's Life of Duport in the Museum Criticum, vol. ii.

[s] The Almagestum Novum (of Riccioli, 2 vols. folio, Bologna 1651), and the telescope, which appear in his will, look this way.

[t] See Letters VII., VIII., above.

[u] See above, § 5. p. 173, note j.

[v] He had extra-commons on that account, with the other fellows, in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th quarters of 1666, and in the 1st and 2nd of 1667. He resided three weeks in the latter year.

put on June 4, 1667. There is a little difficulty in the dates and other circumstances of the several parts of the transaction, which will be found below in the note[x]; but the lease and the vacancy occur in such close proximity, as to leave little doubt but that the former was the cause of the latter. It remains however not quite clear, why Thorndike should prefer the lease to the fellowship. The value of the former is set by himself at £80 per annum[y]. That of the fellowship could scarcely have been less. It is possible, that he came into possession at this time of his brother Francis's landed estate, by the death of his niece Mrs. Alington without male issue, according to the provisions of Francis's will: an accession to his property which certainly took place between 1656 and 1672, and probably is to be dated nearest to the last-named year[z]. The older statutes of the College fix an annual income of above £10, as the sum, the possession of which shall vacate a fellowship; unless however in the case of a College preacher, which Thorndike was. And the value of the estate so accruing to him must have been considerably above this sum. This then may have been the circumstance, which determined him to accept the lease above mentioned, and so terminated his fellowship. But it is to be added, that the statute respecting the £10 income appears to have become inoperative at an early period owing to the changed value of money; that no clear instance occurs of its application to any one case; and, in particular, that one fellow, viz. Sir Isaac Newton, immediately after Thorndike's time, possessed and retained with his fellowship an hereditary estate of £80 a-year[a]. Be this however as it may, it is symbolical

[x] There are *two* leases, both to trustees for Thorndike's use, the first dated April 18, 1665, the second June 4, 1667 (see above, p. 144, note t). The first must obviously have been so framed as to save Thorndike from the effect of the rule above mentioned. But it is a rule of the College that a senior's place shall be filled within nine days after the vacancy. And Thorndike's successor as senior was elected July 1, 1667; while the second lease was sealed June 4, 1667; yet the statute vacated the tenant's fellowship "statim ut syngrapha obsignata fuerit." There is nothing to account for the undue length of the interval, which was twenty-six days instead of nine. However Thorndike's fellowship certainly *was* vacated in the summer of 1667 (he had no stipend as fellow for the last quarter of that year), and before July: and the lease, which (unless specially framed to avoid the consequence) necessarily vacated the fellowship, came in the June of that year.

[y] So it is estimated in Thorndike's will.

[z] See the pedigree below, in note A, and above in Thorndike's will.

[a] These facts, with most of the other information respecting Thorndike's connection with Trinity College, are due to the kindness of the Rev. Joseph Edleston.

of the changing phases of the University studies, of the period that was passing away and of that which was coming, that of the nine fellowships vacant in 1667 at Trinity College, three were vacated by Thorndike, Duport, and Cowley, the divine, the scholar, and the poet, each too in his own line belonging to the school of the previous generation, while among the successful competitors to supply their places, occurs the name of the greatest of mathematicians and natural philosophers, Isaac Newton[b].

Writes against the proposed schemes of comprehension in 1667, 8.

§ 30. Thorndike's pen was again employed in the close of the year 1667, in answer to a pamphlet published by a nonconformist of the name of Corbet[c]. The change in men's feelings, as recollections of the times of the Usurpation became less vivid, the vicissitudes of politics, which had led to Lord Clarendon's fall and exile, the more favourable impression towards the Nonconformists, which the undoubted piety of their leading divines, and the unbounded profligacy of the upper classes, who were of course nominally Churchmen, tended to produce;—these, with the growth of cold and Latitudinarian opinions, and other causes, encouraged the renewal of projects for so altering the Church as to enable at

[b] See Edleston's Correspondence of Sir Is. Newton, pp. xxii. xlii. Cowley had died in July 1667. Duport was promoted to the Deanery of Peterborough in July 1664, and to the Mastership of Magdalen College in 1668, but his place at Trinity College was filled in 1667. It is a singular circumstance, and tells ill for either the convenience of the College staircases or the sobriety of the College fellows, that two of the nine vacancies were caused by the deaths of fellows through falling down stairs. See Edleston, ibid.—Dr. Babington succeeded to Thorndike's rooms, and Isaac Newton, as already intimated, succeeded Babington. Two memoranda of Newton's are preserved, which may serve to illustrate either the increase of luxury or that of prices, or both, between the time of Thorndike and that of Newton, in less than twenty years interval (1667—1682). The first is on a folio sheet containing the MS. of the Optics, among the MSS. of the Earl of Portsmouth now in Sir D. Brewster's hands, and communicated to the present writer by the kindness of the Rev. J. Edleston. It runs thus:—"The income" (i. e. the value of the fixtures and furniture) "of that chamber in which Mr. Isaac Newton now inhabits —Mr. Thorndick's income; Imprimis, paid by the said Isaac Newton to Mr. Thos. Coppinger for Mr. Thorndick's income upon D. Babington's acct. £2 18/6; Paid more by Dr. Babington to Mr. Thos. Coppinger upon the same acct., 3£.—Paid to Silk for a new door out of the Chamber portal into the Garden, £0. 8*s*. 6*d*." Another entry blotted out follows. Compare these sums with that paid for repairing Thorndike's rooms in 1663, above mentioned (§ 28, note y). The second paper, of the date 1682, is in Newton's handwriting, and is also among the Portsmouth MSS., and communicated by Sir D. Brewster to Mr. Edleston. It contains a statement of the "income" paid by Newton to Dr. Babington, amounting in all to £11. 8*s*. 0*d*.: and adds further items for additional fitting and furnishing of the rooms amounting to £25. 8*s*. 1*d*. besides £11. 17*s*. 6*d*. more for chairs and tables.

[c] The whole of the circumstances attending the publication of this pamphlet, and the two schemes for comprehension which followed it, will be found in a note prefixed to Thorndike's True Principle of Comprehension, above, in vol. v.

least the Presbyterian Dissenters to be comprehended within it. Among the pamphlets by which the way was smoothed for the attempt, that of Corbet was the principal. It appeared in the autumn of 1667. There was still however sufficient jealousy of sectarians on the one hand, and of the King's dispensing power on the other, to strengthen the hands of the Church-members in the House of Commons. And a Colonel Birch, who was to have moved the scheme in Parliament, did not dare to mention it in the October Session of 1667, and was anticipated in the session of the following spring by a strong resolution of the House in a contrary sense. Perrinchief, also a canon of Westminster, had been beforehand with Thorndike in replying to Corbet. And whether for this reason, or from the entire failure of the Presbyterian scheme, the unfinished tract of Thorndike himself remained in MS., and has been published for the first time in the present edition of his works. He had insisted in it upon that principle, upon which alone he rested the right of state-interference with religion at all; viz. the recognition by the state of the primitive and Catholic Church, which he restricted to the time of the first six councils, and the decisions of which he holds the state to be at once bound to restore if the existing Church departs from them, and entitled to enforce by such penalties, as may mark the national adoption of them, without otherwise injuring individuals: a theory, which covers at once the Reformation (as before observed) and the Act of Uniformity. Another tract, also now first published, was likewise written by him at this time, against one of the commonest, although certainly not the strongest, arguments of the Nonconformists, viz. their plea of weakness and of tender consciences: a plea, which, as he truly argues, presumes and implies the rightfulness of the practices themselves, to which objection is taken, and is therefore absolutely inconsistent with their other plea of the essential unlawfulness of those practices. This tract also remained unpublished, probably for the same reason with the other. In both are sad and bitter lamentations for the profligacy, the atheism, the heresies, of the time; for the relaxation of discipline, and the prevalence of adultery, and of duelling; for the confiscation of tithes, and the abuse

of pluralities, and the consequent inefficiency of the clergy. And the latter of them especially mentions the evil plight of the city of London, of which the houses but not the churches were then rising again from the ashes of the great fire[d], while even apart from the effects of this terrible catastrophe not above a sixth part of the population could find a church to hold them[e]. How would Thorndike's pious regrets have found adequate expression, could he have foreseen the time, now happily passing away, when parishes of from seventy to one hundred thousand inhabitants in that same city should have but a single church!

His relations in New England.

§ 31. Our thoughts must now turn to a country, of which the condition at that time and the present is more sharply contrasted in all points, physical, social, religious, than that of perhaps any other part of the world within a similar period of time. The position of the New-Englanders in the days of the Stuarts was indeed a singular one. Fugitives for religion's sake, they were themselves enacting the bitterest of persecutions. Men who had revolted against the authority of both Church and state, were imposing upon the very thoughts and inmost feelings the yoke of a religious tyranny, as minute and as galling as any the world had ever elsewhere seen; and enforcing by the fine or the scourge or the gallows the dogmas of an elaborate and unnatural scheme of divinity, and that scheme the mere private opinion of a single man. In a word, they were using weapons which the Church disclaims, to impose a more abject prostration of mind and conscience to John Calvin, than the Church could desire towards herself[f]. In particular,—to specify a single and isolated decree, but one which brought them directly into collision with all members of the Church of England,—they forbad, under penalties, the baptism of children whose parents were not "members of the Church," i. e. formally members of an Independent congregation[g]. In a society thus regulated,

[d] See Plea of Weakness &c., sect. v. § 10. On Nov. 27, 1681, Beveridge preached at the re-opening of St. Peter's, Cornhill, "15 years and more since it was destroyed," viz. by the great fire. See Beveridge's Works, vol. vi. p. 367.

[e] See Plea of Weakness &c., ibid., note i.

[f] See Cotton Mather's Eccles. Hist. of New England (or Hawthorne's recent novel of The Scarlet Letter) for a full and detailed picture of the state of things in New England at this period. And see also Disc. of Forb. or Penalties &c., c. xxix.

[g] See above in the Plea of Weakness &c., sect. vi. § 6, note n.

Thorndike's brother John had spent thirty-five years, and had married and brought up a family. His only son Paul, it seems, he had sent over to England, probably upon the Restoration, when his uncle Herbert had the power of assisting him. And the latter had the comfort of bringing his nephew, then 20 years of age, to be baptized, "in the font newly set up" after the troubles, in Westminster Abbey, upon April 18, 1663[h]. In 1668 the father himself returned to England, only however to die, and to be buried in the Church which he had so long quitted[i]. He appears to have brought two of his daughters with him. And they also were induced, no doubt by their uncle, to be baptized in the following year[k]. Either from annoyance at being omitted in his eldest uncle's will, who had wholly passed over his brother John and his family in favour of the prebendary, or for whatever other cause, the nephew Paul seems to have returned—whether before his father's death, does not appear, but at least before his uncle's—to America, where his descendants have prospered and still continue to prosper. The nieces it would seem remained in England, in their uncle's house; and were provided for by him at his death, upon conditions, very natural under the circumstances, although the subject of much remark at the hands of those who were not aware of the reasons for them, that they should neither return to New England, nor marry with Romanists or with any that frequent conventicles at home[l]. A tradition appears to be current among the American descendants of the family, which, if it has any truth in it, must refer to Paul Thorndike's return (apparently at this time) to New England. It is alleged, but with sufficient vagueness, that the founder of that branch of the family quitted his native country in disgust, because a member of the government offered him some indignity; and that he went, like the Phocæans of old,

[h] "Paul Thornedike, a young man about 20 years of age, and Duell Pead one of the King's scholars ab^{t}. 16 years of age, was bapt^{d}. by the Deane publickly in the font newly set up, April 18, 1663." Register of Baptisms in Westminster Abbey, printed in Nichols' Collectanea Typographica, vol. vii. pp. 244, 245. The Dean was Dr. Dolben. —See below in note A at the end of the Life for all this family history.

[i] Viz. upon Nov. 3, 1668. See above, p. 143, note r, and § 2.

[k] Viz. upon April 10, 1669. See above, p. 148, note k.

[l] See above in Thorndike's Will, pp. 148, 151.

vowing that he would never return. Whether this, or the suggestion made above, contain the true reason of the emigration—and nothing more is known to throw any light upon the indefinite and uncertain tale just mentioned,—certain it is, that both Paul, and the prebendary's other surviving nephews, the sons of his brother Paul, are wholly passed over by Thorndike in his will, a circumstance which the departure of any of them to New England (and possibly the latter may have accompanied their cousin) would account for at once; and also that all branches of the family, once very numerous, have almost entirely disappeared from their native county of Lincoln since the middle of the seventeenth century[m], leaving but one family of the name, and of the rank of gentry, still surviving in England, viz. the Suffolk branch already mentioned.

Letters and friends.

§ 32. A letter of Thorndike to Dr. Lightfoot, written from Westminster at this period[n], proves his continued interest in his Rabbinical studies, now however laid aside by him for some six years past through ill health. Another, of ten months' later date[o], exhibits him in the kindly aspect of an intercessor, and a successful one, with his old friend Dr. Sancroft, now Dean of St. Paul's, on behalf of the curate of a brother-canon, who desired a small living in the patronage of the Chapter of St. Paul's, and of whom he takes care to specify, that he is, "for conformity in religion, more than ordinary." The last-named letter shews him also as still upon intimate terms of friendship with his old friend (now Dr.) Thurscross, who died only a year before himself: the

[m] The name fills the registers of Great and Castle Carltons from 1560 to 1650. It occurs after that period twice only, viz. in 1808, 1809; and is remembered in the neighbourhood as having been borne some years since by a family in the rank of labourers. The American story comes from Mr. Thorndike of Boston, and was communicated to the present writer by the Rev. T. White. Of Thorndike's first cousins, children of his uncle Herbert, the second son of Nicholas the eldest, by name Thomas, appears to be identical with a Thomas Thorndicke, buried at Birstal near Leeds January 16, 1683; and if so, held, with his wife, a lease of the great tithes of that parish under Trinity College, Cambridge, renewed to them in 1673 and 1681. His widow, who married a second time, and became Dame Christian Blackburn, and died December 1700, had the same lease renewed to herself after his death, viz. in 1687 and 1695; which looks as if he had left no sons. Of none others of the family, except those mentioned above in the text, has any trace been found.

[n] Dated May 18, 1669. Above, no. XVI.

[o] Dated March 22, 167$\frac{9}{0}$. Above, no. XVII.

"Thristcross" of Worthington's letters to Hartlib[p], who "knew Mr. Ferrar and Little Gedding," and "wished there had been an encrease of religious societies;" and whom Barwick, in the time of the Usurpation[q], joined with Oley, the biographer and friend of George Herbert, and with Thorndike himself, the college contemporary and friend of all the three, as examples of piety. The triple friendship lasted till death; and Oley the survivor of the three is kindly remembered in Thorndike's will[r]. Of his brother-canons, Busby, to whom he expresses himself as under great obligations, and who must of course have kept the most continuous residence upon his canonry, appears to have been at this time Thorndike's principal friend[s]. Bishop Gunning, and his ancient College-friends, Bishop Creighton and Dean Honywood, Sir John Marsham, Sir Philip Warwick, Sir Justinian Isham, Sir Thomas Wendy (member for Cambridgeshire), the lawyer Sir John Coel, and his friend and "apothecary" Mr. Anthony Hinton, names of note most of them for literature and for loyalty, fill up the circle of his society in these his latter years[t].

Publishes his Discourse of the Forbearance or Penalties which a Due Reformation requires.

§ 33. The anxiety of Charles II. to conciliate the Dissenters, and his concealed wish to relax the penalties against Romanists, combined at this time with better motives to urge him to repeated efforts towards the modification, at least in practice, and as regards penalties, of the Act of Uniformity, and of the other Acts that bore hard upon Nonconformists: while the jealousy of the House of Commons against the King's dispensing power, and the other causes already mentioned, co-operated with the efforts of the Church party constantly to thwart those efforts. An address presented to the King by the leading Nonconformists in September 1668, upon a sug-

[p] Worthington's Diary, pp. 219, 220: and see also pp. 203, 271.

[q] See above, § 14, note h. Barwick's Life of Dean Barwick was not published until 1721.

[r] See above, p. 146.

[s] See Thorndike's Will, above, pp. 146, 152. Two other canons, the two who are least known of the body, appear as on kindly terms with Thorndike, viz. Gibbs (see above in Letter XVII.) and Triplet. There are presentation copies of the Epilogue, and of Just Weights and Measures, to the latter, in Westminster Chapter Library. And Gibbs witnessed Thorndike's will (see above, p. 152). South, Stradling, Perrinchief, and in the later part of the time, Boreman, Thorndike's brother fellow, who was a writer of some little note at the time, Sprat, and Outram, also an ex-fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, were likewise members of the Chapter. Dolben was Dean from 1663 to 1683.

[t] See above in Thorndike's Will, pp. 146, 147.

gestion made to them that it would be favourably received, was the first overt act that was risked after the defeat of the projects of 1667, 8. But it must have been evident throughout to Churchmen, that those projects or similar ones would be renewed, so soon as Charles or his advisers felt themselves strong enough to press them. And higher considerations than those of policy would also operate to induce every effort towards re-union, could it be attained without sacrifice of truth. The leisure of Thorndike's canonry was employed accordingly, upon his return into residence at Westminster, in urging yet once more his own views upon the subject. And the results of his labour appeared in 1670, in his Discourse of the Forbearance or Penalties which a Due Reformation requires, written in 1669[u]. The main positions of this tract are merely his former arguments worked out in some parts more fully. His experience however of the Savoy Conference did not deter him from urging a repetition of a similar expedient. Yet what prospect was there, that either party would or could give up in 1670, what they had refused to give up in 1661? It is observable, that in this tract he repeats his acknowledgment, although in milder terms, of the validity of foreign presbyterian orders for foreigners themselves, that is, where other orders could not be had. And he renews in it also some of the principal topics started in his (then) unpublished tracts of 1667, 8. We may instance the emphatic protest put forward in the Discourse, against the proposed excision of baptismal regeneration from the liturgy, the one only doctrinal point of essential moment on which the Nonconformists at that period insisted, even in the Savoy Conference itself;—the ingenious but not less true connection, by way of retributive judgment, of the Rebellion with the confiscation of the monasteries, as effect and cause, through the intermediate links of impoverished vicarages in borough-towns, and the consequent introduction of Puritan lecturers into what then filled the place of modern newspapers, the town-pulpits;—the strongly-worded complaints of the pluralities and non-residence, which marred the efforts of the clergy; of the "persecution," which practically robbed the Church of her power of excommunication by compelling her to give

[u] See Disc. of Forb. or Penalties &c. c. i. note b; and below in note B.

Christian burial indiscriminately to all persons; and, lastly, of the pernicious confusion of the royal and ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the Church-courts.

And his Latin book De Ratione Finiendi Controversias.

§ 34. The year 1670 produced also another and more elaborate book from Thorndike's pen. In pursuance of his great object he had re-written the whole of his Epilogue, about this time or previously, in English[x]. He had also still earlier, immediately after publishing the Epilogue itself, re-written his opinions (as above mentioned) upon some of the particular subjects treated in that work and in his Right of the Church[y]. He had now however laid aside the whole of these English tracts, and begun the more laborious task of re-composing the whole subject in Latin[z]. Of this he lived to publish only the first part, corresponding to the first Book of the Epilogue; which appeared in a folio volume in this year, under the title of *De Ratione ac Jure Finiendi Controversias Ecclesiæ Disputatio*[a]. The completion of the remainder was cut short by his sickness and death; and the preparations made for it were consigned by him in his will to Bishop Gunning, with an injunction that they should be destroyed in case he himself should not survive to revise them[b].

His tract and paper against the Church of Rome.

§ 35. It was hardly to be expected, that a divine of Thorndike's sentiments should escape the imputation of popery. A charge so vague, and so largely dependent for its meaning upon the sentiments of the person who brings it, could not at that time fail to be laid against one, who professedly held the heresies of the Fanatics to be fundamental and therefore inconsistent with salvation, and declared also that the Presbyterians did not clear themselves from misprision of those heresies, while on the other side he allowed salvation to "the mass," although clogged with difficulty[c]. Yet if we take as our measure the distinctive tenets of the council of Trent, he certainly who does not hold one out of the whole list, can scarcely be soberly accused of symbolizing with the Church, which that council has stamped with its formal character

[x] See below in note B.

[y] Scil. in the four tracts printed in the beginning of this volume, which were apparently written in 1659 or 1660. See above in § 15. p. 202.

[z] See the Preface to his Latin book.

[a] See note B, below.

[b] See Thorndike's Will, above, p. 147.

[c] See e. g. the Reformation of Ch. of Engl. &c., c. v.

and that this was the case with Thorndike, he himself took the pains to shew in a set treatise[d], written in the last year, or last but one, of his life, and left by him in MS. If again we look to what may be called the distinctive principle of the Roman system, namely, the voluntary and absolute submission of the reason and conscience to the arbitrary dictates of a living and human authority, held to be Divine, whether to pope or confessor; then certainly he is no Romanist, who affirms, as Thorndike does, that the faith is to be ascertained (under God's guidance and with His aid) by reason, not judging indeed but discerning the matter of revelation, and overruling the decision of the present Church, as well as of individuals claiming the Spirit, by Holy Scripture as interpreted by the early Church. Or if we carry our contrast further still to the popular tendencies of Romanism, and if the character of its practical teaching be indeed what it has sometimes seemed to be, an undue exaltation of man's share in the work of his own salvation to the depreciation of that of Almighty God,—if it have so spoken for example of human merit as to exclude in effect the necessity of the Atonement, so dwelt upon inferior mediators as to obscure the mediation of Christ, so extolled the natural power of the human will as to border upon the Pelagianism of making God's grace a debt and not a free gift;—then again is Thorndike no Romanist, but one of the most powerful and decided opponents of Romanism, the more powerful that he leaves no opening for reply by swerving into the contrary extreme of error. Indeed, if Baxter is to stand as the representative of the imputations made against him upon this score, they rested, in the main, not on Thorndike's own sentiments, so much as upon the degree to which he was disposed to tolerate the sentiments of others[e]. And Thorndike himself supposes the charge to be grounded upon what is indeed a very weak ground for such a charge, his willingness to submit all religious questions to the standard of the primitive, and judgment of the Catholic, Church[f]. If we look for specific accusations, they would probably fasten,

[d] Scil. The Reformation of the Ch. of England better than that of the Council of Trent printed above in vol. v.

[e] See ibid., c. i. § 1, note d.

[f] See ibid. And see also below in § 40, for the very inconclusive arguments of Barrow (and of Baxter also), against Thorndike's doctrine on this subject, as opening the door ultimately to the Pope.

either upon his refusal to interpret the prophecies respecting antichrist of the pope—following the interpretation of the Revelation, and of Daniel, and of St. Paul's and St. John's Epistles, advanced by Grotius, rather than that started by Mede[g],—or upon his somewhat technical argument, practically surrendered indeed by himself[h], that so long as the Church of Rome formally maintained the profession of its belief in One God, so long it *could* not be idolatrous, however unmistakeably idolatrous its prayers and practices were when viewed in themselves,—or upon his defence of prayer for the dead, wherein, whether right or wrong, he certainly was not more "popish" than Archbishop Ussher, whose Answer to a Jesuit is his main authority upon the subject[i],—or, lastly, upon his doctrine respecting the eucharist, in which he symbolizes with Cosin and with Bramhall, with Hammond and Taylor and Ken. Upon the last-named subject, the reader is referred to the treatise just cited[k], where he will find a brief statement of the doctrine, sufficient for the maintenance of the reality of the Sacrament, yet deciding no more, as to the cause, or as to the manner, of the Presence, than that reality of necessity requires. Waterland, in his Christian Sacrifice Explained[l], may serve to vindicate, at least from the charge of popery, his doctrine upon the special point of the eucharistic sacrifice. A paper published in 1679, seven years after his death, by Stillingfleet, who had had it in his possession from 1673 or 4, and which had been placed by Thorndike in the hands of a lady unnamed, in order to prevent her conversion to the Church of Rome[m], proves him to have been in practice, as well as in his writings, hostile upon solid reasons to Romish doctrine: and contains (what indeed moved Stillingfleet to publish it) a condemnation of the idolatry of the Church of Rome, conciser, yet not stronger in meaning, than is to be found in his Epilogue itself[n].

[g] His interpretation of these prophecies is repeated by him several times. See references in the Rt. of the Christian State in Church-matters, § 74, note i.

[h] Scil. in his Judgm. of the Ch. of Rome. See below, note n, and § 41.

[i] See Epil., Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., cc. xxvii.—xxix.

[k] Reformation of Ch. of Engl. &c., c. xxv. § 6. And see above at the end of § 22. The passages of the Epilogue on the subject have been reprinted with notes (8vo. Lond. 1855) by J. D. Chambers.

[l] Works, vol. viii. pp. 166, 167.

[m] See note a to the beginning of the paper itself. And see below, in § 38.

[n] See references in note p to § 12, of the paper.

Sickness and death.

§ 36. This tract and paper were his latest writings. They may serve as his dying declaration of his real sentiments, and his protest against calumnies. In the May or June of 1672[o], his illness, whatever was its nature, seems to have increased upon him. He appears to have quitted Westminster about that time for a house at Chiswick, of which the Westminster Chapter were then and long after tenants under the prebend of Chiswick in the cathedral of St. Paul's, and which they seem to have employed, much as was the custom with colleges at the same period, as a kind of sanatorium[p]. And in this retirement apparently, but certainly at Chiswick, he died, upon Thursday July 11, 1672, at the age of seventy-four[q]: after a life of continued study, unbroken except by the troubles of the Rebellion, but of study dedicated throughout to the service of God, and devoted during the whole of his maturer years to the one object of promoting peace, not by sacrificing, but by rightly maintaining truth. His death would seem to have been not sudden, as his will was made eight days previously[r], namely, upon July 3[s]. He was buried in the east cloister of Westminster abbey upon July 13[t].

Will, bequests, and epitaph.

§ 37. His will deserves further mention. Its contents are characteristic of the man. It sets forth, first of all, in especially pious and humble language, his belief in the faith of

[o] The last chapter at which he was present at Westminster, was upon May 15, 1672; as appears by the Chapter books.

[p] See Lysons' Environs of London, vol. ii. pp. 191, 192; and Carlisle's Endowed Grammar Schools, vol. i. p. 101. Dean Goodman obtained the lease in 1570, for the use of the school in time of sickness or at other seasons. Dr. Busby took refuge there with his boys during the plague in 1657. The parallel instances of Garsington, Kidlington, and St. Bartholomew's, belonging respectively to Trinity, Exeter, and Oriel colleges in the University of Oxford, will occur to any Oxford man.

[q] For the place of Thorndike's death, see Fulman (as above in § 3, note z); who is also the authority for the day. Nichols, in his Hist. of Leicestershire, vol. iv. p. 133, dates Thorndike's death upon July 9, but gives no authority. Fulman was a contemporary, and moreover was connected in literary matters with Perrinchief, who was a canon of Westminster at the time himself. Twells dates the death July 13, but this is a mere confusion with the day of the funeral.

[r] His prebend also was filled upon July 17, 1672, when Nicholas Onley, D. D., was installed in it: six days and no more after his predecessor's death.

[s] It was proved July 15. Thorndike however, when executing it, seems still to have thought his own recovery possible.

[t] So the Register of Burials in Westminster Abbey, printed by Nichols in his Collect. Topograph., as quoted above in p. 143, note z. And so also Dart's Westminster (see below at the end of § 37): and Richard Smith's Obituary, in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, vol. ii. lib. xiv. p. 10, and now also printed for the Camden Society. The extract from Smith about Thorndike is also in Wood's Ath. Oxon., vol. ii. col. 302, note, ed. Bliss, from Baker's MSS.

the Catholic Church, and his hope of salvation in the communion of the Church of England "by virtue of that wherein it agreeth with the primitive Catholic Church, but" with an "earnest" prayer, "that the reformation thereof may be perfected according to the same." Such had been the object of his thoughts, his writings, and his prayers, for many years past: and such was the character of himself and of his works, which he desired to impress as his last and dying lesson, the summary of his experience and learning, upon posterity. Such also was the character which he desired to be engraved upon his monument. His epitaph, which he embodied in his will, not only expressed but exemplified these wishes. It described him as one, "*qui vivus veram reformandæ Ecclesiæ rationem ac modum precibusque studiisque persequebatur.*" It added a request for the prayers of the reader, limited precisely by the similar prayers of the early Church, and to language which may fairly be justified by our own burial service. The bulk of his property,—after a provision for his great-niece Miss Alington, his eldest brother's only grandchild, in compliance with that brother's will, and for the two nieces who lived with him, his brother John's children,—was left to Church purposes. His other and equally near relatives, his nephew Paul and the children of his brother of that name, are wholly passed over. Some of them certainly were still surviving. And at least the sons of the brother were intentionally omitted; inasmuch as he had suffered the necessary fine and recovery, in order to cut off the estate in remainder, to which they were otherwise entitled after himself under his eldest brother's will. The bequest to his nieces is made in the main dependent upon the conditions, that they should neither return to New England (their birth-place) after his decease, nor yet, remaining in England, "marry with any who went to mass or to the new licensed conventicles[a]." It is to be presumed, that the feeling which dictated these

[a] See above in § 31, for these relatives and their history.—Thorndike's will dates precisely in the interval between Charles's Declaration for liberty of conscience of March 15, 167⅔, and the address of the House of Commons in February 167⅔, which compelled the withdrawal of that Declaration. During this interval, licences were issued by the King for meeting-houses of nonconformists; which were cancelled, when it was quashed. See a note to the Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxix.

conditions, led also to the entire omission of the other relatives. Of the bequests to the Church, one, that of his lease of the tithes of Trumpington near Cambridge to the vicar of that parish (on condition, be it added, of strict residence on the cure), is still enjoyed by the vicars of Trumpington. The others were in favour of the parishes with which his family were chiefly connected, Scamblesby and Great Carlton. One only of these has taken effect. The Vicarage of Great Carlton is now mainly and well provided for by the glebe lands, which were apparently his bequest; and the advowson continues, where he placed it, in the hands of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln. The other had a less fortunate issue. The provision for the intended endowment and vicarage of Scamblesby, was left unhappily in the hands of the city of London, and shared the fate of the city orphans' fund[x]. And the parish remains as it was, a perpetual curacy, and one of the poorest in the diocese. He had designed the advowson of it, as of that of Carlton, to be placed in the hands of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln; but with a provision in both instances in case of the possible destruction by law of Cathedral Chapters (and in one passage he includes Colleges also), which recent events had compelled him to regard as no improbable contingency. Fears of more modern date will lead to an earnest sympathy with the prayer, which he invariably subjoins, that God may in His mercy avert such an evil. It was hardly to be expected, that his intended epitaph should escape without attack. It was not, it is true, without example at the time. Dr. Isaac Barrow, uncle of the great Isaac Barrow and bishop of St. Asaph, who died in 1680, caused a similar epitaph for himself to be placed upon his tomb[y], borrowing however its words directly from Scripture; and the Dean also

[x] See above, p. 150, note m.

[y] "Exuviæ Isaaci Asaphensis Episcopi, in manum Domini depositæ, in spem lætæ resurrectionis per sola Christi merita. O vos transeuntes in domum Domini, domum orationis, orate pro conservo vestrò, ut inveniat misericordiam in die Domini." This epitaph was to be placed over the west door of S. Asaph Cathedral, on a brass plate; which was actually put up there according to Wood (Ath. Oxon., vol. iv. col. 838), "but afterwards taken down and fastened to the lower stone next the body." Some account of the bishop may be found in Walter Pope's Life of Seth Ward, who with Gunning, Barwick, and Barrow, was concerned in a bold attack upon the Covenant at the beginning of the troubles.

and Chapter of St. Asaph seem to have allowed it to continue in the cathedral, although removed from its original position to one less conspicuous. Whatever too may be said of the caution, which bitter experience has proved to be necessary in the public use of such prayers, at least there is nothing in Thorndike's epitaph, any more than in his books, that bears the slightest resemblance to the Romish or any other doctrine of purgatory, or that contradicts any authorized document of the English Church[a]. The Chapter of Westminster however were less venturesome than their brethren in the remote Welsh county. And the inscription upon Thorndike's grave was limited in fact to his mere name and dignity[a]. But the complete form, as he wrote it, became in some way public at the time; and attracted the notice, among others, of Andrew Marvel[b], and seemingly also of Bishop Barlow[c], in the very year of Thorndike's death[d].

Defence of his memory by Stillingfleet,

§ 38. Neither Marvel nor even Barlow were likely to be kindly disposed towards a divine of Thorndike's sentiments. The former indeed, in the book just referred to, has been

[a] "As if," says Todd in his Life of Walton, speaking of this epitaph of Thorndike's,—"As if a good Protestant might not be requested to offer up his prayer to God, that they who are departed in the true faith of His Holy Name, may have their perfect consummation and bliss in heaven, he with them and they with him."

[a] He was buried "without any memorial," according to Browne Willis. But Dart, Hist. of St. Peter's Westminster, vol. ii. p. 126, writing about fifty years after Thorndike's death, tells us precisely, that there was then in the cloisters "in the east ambulatory, on a gravestone, 'Herbert Thorndick canon of this Church.'" Even this has now wholly disappeared.

[b] "Dr. Thorndike, lately dead, left for his epitaph," &c. &c. (giving the epitaph at length). Andrew Marvel, Rehearsal Transprosed, p. 224, first edit. 1672. The words immediately preceding contain an attack upon "one in the Church at present, though certainly no less a Protestant," who "could not abstain from arguing the holiness of Lent." Certainly Marvel's weapons of attack on the Church were either very feeble or very ill-chosen, if he could find nothing worse than Gunning's book upon Lent and Thorndike's epitaph.

[c] He has written it upon the fly-leaf of Godden's Catholicks no Idolaters, publ. in 1672, for which see below, in § 38, note f. Barlow's copy of that book is in the Bodleian Library.

[d] In the Magna Britannia et Hibernia, vol. ii. pp. 1445, 1447, 1448 (4to. Lond. 1720), is an account of Thorndike's bequests to Scamblesby and Great Carlton. The parsonage of the latter place had belonged to the monastery of Thornton in Lincolnshire, and was granted by Edward VI. to Sir William Herbert: whence the writer conjectures, that "Mr. Thorndyke, who bears a mark of this noble family in his Christian name, might" have "received it from a female branch, or by gift, and being a pious as well as a learned man, restored it to the Church as its due." Probably enough the fact here mentioned may account for the frequency of the Christian name of Herbert in Thorndike's family; and one of his forefathers may have so obtained the advowson in question, or may have purchased it of the Herberts. The divine certainly inherited it. His father is the earliest of the family whose possession of it can be traced.

Spinckes, and Hickes.

guilty of a most unjustifiable misrepresentation of his former tutor's words[e]. And the latter, like Henry More, was offended by what after all must be allowed to be a more charitable than convincing argument, the reasoning, namely, by which Thorndike so repeatedly labours to prove, that the Romanists *ought* not to be, indeed *cannot* be, although in fact they *are*, idolatrous[f]. But more abusive attacks were made upon Thorndike's memory shortly after his death, than those of either the Puritan member of Parliament or the librarian Bishop; yet attacks honourable to him in their results, in that they called forth in his defence the pens of Stillingfleet, Spinckes, and Hickes. An avowed Romanist, of the name of Thomas Godden or Goodwin, in 1672 and 1674[g], and about thirty years afterwards a second but anonymous author[h], who held Romish tenets although he professed to belong to the Church of England, endeavoured, by "misapplied and wrested passages" out of Thorndike's books[i], to press his testimony into controversial service upon the Romish side. Stillingfleet, who replied to the former in 1674 and 1679, took occasion in the course of his argument to vindicate Thorndike, and in the latter year published also Thorndike's own "Judgment of the Church

[e] "If this will not do, *vous avez* Doctor Thorndike's deposition in print, for he I hear is lately dead;" that "the Church of England, in separating from the Church of Rome, is guilty of schism before God." Rehearsal Transprosed, p. 174. He adds indeed, "I have not the book by me, but I am sure 'tis candidly recited as I have read it." But before trusting to a prejudiced memory, he should have referred to the book itself: viz. Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. iv. Thorndike there denies, precisely what Marvel represents him to assume: viz. that the Church of England *has* (actively) separated from the Church of Rome. Maintaining her right to reform herself according to the model of the primitive Church, he alleges that the Church of Rome has wrongfully separated from her, because she did so reform herself. We were justified, he holds, in doing that which resulted in separation. We should have been "guilty of schism before God" (although, even so, not "before the Church"), had we intentionally aimed at separation itself. Who that believes, not in a Church Catholic, but in the fundamental duty of Christian charity, but would say the same? unless indeed (which is Thorndike's own exception) those from whom we separated were indeed antichristian.

[f] See below in § 41: and Barlow's Letter to the Earl of Anglesey, answering the questions, whether the Pope be antichrist, and whether salvation may be had in the Church of Rome; in Barlow's Remains, pp. 198, 199. 8vo. Lond. 1693.

[g] See the titles of his books in note a, to § 1 of Thorndike's Judgm. of the Ch. of Rome, above in vol. v.

[h] Essay towards a Proposal for Catholick Communion, by a Minister of the Church of England, published about 1703 or 1704. The writer was Joshua Basset, the Romanist Master of Sidney College in 1687 (see a MS. note in the Bodleian copy of Stephens' Observations in reply to him, Lond. 8vo. 1705).

[i] So Hickes, Preface to his Controversial Discourses, in reprinting Thorndike's Judgm. of Ch. of Rome.

of Rome," already referred to, as conclusively interpreting his own meaning by his own words. Spinckes in 1705[j] elaborately replied to the latter; and Hickes, with the same view, reprinted in 1710, in the Appendix to his Controversial Discourses, the paper that had been published by Stillingfleet. The papal supremacy, the adoration of Christ in the eucharist, the eucharistic sacrifice, prayer for the dead, the acquittal of the Romish communion from idolatry, and of the pope from being antichrist, are the points, to which the controversy, especially in the case of the latter of the two assailants, was addressed. Upon the first three of these topics Spinckes has effectually cleared Thorndike, simply by stating correctly what he really had said upon each subject. Respecting the last three, viz. prayer for the dead, and the points of idolatry and antichrist, he merely maintains, that the English Church is not bound by a single divine however great, and holds Thorndike to have erred. He might have cleared him as effectually with respect to the second of these points also, had he been acquainted with the paper which Stillingfleet had already printed. With respect to the other two, it must be allowed by all fair minded men, that prayer for the dead in the form practised by the primitive Church, and limited to the objects for which that Church prayed, is in no way forbidden by the English Church; however strong an opinion she may have implied, rather than expressed, upon the pernicious consequences likely to ensue, were such prayers introduced into the liturgy at the present time: and certainly the interpretation of prophecy is an open subject for divines, and one where the charitable view, as it is not forbidden, so is surely, one would think, to be preferred; and not the less, if it happens also (as many commentators have thought in this case it does) to accord best with right reason and sound principles of interpretation[k].

[j] Essay towards a Proposal &c., printed at large and answered chapter by chapter, &c. 8vo. Lond. 1705.

[k] A few words in Thorndike's Discourse of Forbearance &c. in 1670, c. xxx., respecting the Quakers, called forth an Appendix to an obscure Quaker pamphlet, entitled "A recital of some envious information and accusations against the Quakers by H. Thorndike, Prebend of Westminster Church so called, in his book called a Discourse of the Forbearance &c. p. 177." The initials of the writers of it were G. W. and W. S.—Cole also (MS. Athen. Cantab.) refers to a scurrilous writer named Myles Davies, who in his Athenæ Britann., Pt. i. (of which the title is, Εἰκὼν Μικρο-βιβλικὴ, sive Ikon Libellorum, or a Critical History of Pamphlets &c., 8vo. Lond. 1715), calls Thorndike hard names, in the Preface, p. 48, and p. 261.

Use made of his writings by the Nonjurors in the controversy respecting the Usages.

§ 39. The controversy respecting the Usages between the two sections of the Nonjurors, in 1717 and the following years[l], led naturally on both sides to a frequent reference to Thorndike's sentiments[m]. Three of the four controverted subjects, viz. the prayer of invocation, that of oblation, and the commemoration of the departed, in the communion-service, were points which Thorndike as well as the Usagers held to be agreeable to primitive usage. But Thorndike did not hold, with the Usagers, that these points were also necessary, or that the communion-service without them was defective in essentials[n]. On the fourth, the mixture of water with the wine, he had preserved (as has been already said[o]) an absolute and significant silence.

He is attacked in Barrow's posthumous tract on the Unity of the Church.

§ 40. A greater man than any hitherto mentioned, a friend too and a brother-fellow, Isaac Barrow, assailed in part the main principle and foundation of Thorndike's theology, shortly after his death; in a tract, which Barrow did not himself publish, but left in MS., to be printed with his other writings, under the joint care of his own father and of Tillotson. The question in dispute is the authority of the Church Catholic over particular Churches. Up to a certain point—far enough advanced perhaps to suffice for practical purposes, at least in

[l] Lathbury's Hist. of the Nonjurors, c. vii. pp. 276, sq. That persecuted body must needs add internal division to its other not self-caused sufferings, and split upon the four points mentioned in the text. Collier and Brett and Campbell insisted on their insertion as essential, and went so far as in 1708 to compose a "New Communion Office" in accordance with them; while Spinckes, Gandy, Taylor, and Bedford, maintained the duty of adhering to the existing English Prayer-book.

[m] E.g. the author of Mr. Collier's Desertion Discussed, or the Holy Office of Worship in the Liturgy of the Church of England Defended, as already quoted, p. 37 (published in 1718, and again in 1720), urges, that, "those very few of learned men (as Mr. Mede perhaps and Mr. Thorndike), that have thought" prayer for the dead "to be *inter desideranda*, wishing the things he" (i.e. Collier) "so unseasonably contends for, had been retain'd as in the first liturgy of Edward the Sixth, yet never came it into their thoughts to break off communion with the establish'd Church upon that account." So also in p. 106, as quoted above in § 26. note f. On the other side, see Brett's Dissertation upon the Ancient Liturgies, pp. 353, 357, 379, 405, 406, 417—425 (who quotes also, in p. 425, both Thorndike's and Barrow's epitaphs, the former from Andrew Marvel, the latter from Antony Wood), 8vo. Lond. 1720: and Bp. Campbell's book entitled The Intermediate or Middle State of Departed Souls (as to happiness or misery) before the Day of Judgment, plainly proved from the H. Scriptures, published in 1721, but also previously without a name in 1713, pp. 164, 165. ed. 1713. And earlier still, Edward Stephens' (anonymous) tracts, Of Prayers for the Dead &c. 4to. Lond. 1699, p. 8, and Doctrine of Scripture conc. the Middle State of Souls, and Tradition of Church for Prayers for the Dead, summ'd up by Dr. Jer. Taylor &c., with the Judgment of Mr. Herbert Thorndike a late most learned Prebend of Westminster, n. p. or d.

[n] See above in § 26.

[o] Ibid.

the present sad suspension of the unity of the Church—up to a certain point the two not unfriendly opponents agree. Both hold, that in the essentials, as well of faith as of Church-government, all Christians are bound to preserve unity with one another, in the unity of the Church. Both hold, that upon each of these subjects the consent of the primitive and still united Church, as evidenced in its creeds and laws, is the true canon of the interpretation of Holy Scripture. Both deny the infallibility of the present Church, and refuse to resolve the ground of faith into its determinations. Both again hold, that in things undetermined, and not essential, each portion of the Church, and therefore each national Church, is left to its own discretion; provided of course that it does not transgress the limits already laid down. But here the agreement ends. Thorndike takes also the further step, in which Barrow declines to accompany him, of affirming, that the Church universal is in such sense "a corporation," as that (although of course, as before, within the limits of the primitive faith and laws) "some have power to bind the whole." The hinge of the question then turns upon this —that if the Church universal at the present time could by possibility unite in framing a canon, of which the matter should be consistent with the primitive faith and with the principles of primitive Church laws—the principles, be it observed, not the particular provisions, for these must be of necessity changed, by Thorndike's own repeated admission, in order to retain the principles,—then that canon would be binding upon the whole Church, if we take Thorndike's view, but not so, if we take Barrow's. The present is not the place to defend Thorndike's position. Let it suffice to have stated it, and to refer the reader to the works themselves[p] for the arguments on either side. At least there was no interruption, we are told, of the friendship between the two opponents: although it must have grieved the heart of the old man, the representative of the old College of pre-usurpation times, to find opinions akin to the growing "latitude" of the new regime, creeping over the brightest and greatest of its younger

[p] Viz. the first Book of the Epilogue, and the Latin revision of it in the De Ratione Finiendi Controversias, on Thorndike's side: the latter half of the tract on the Unity of the Church (first published in 1680), on Barrow's.

members. In one point, it may allowably here be said, Barrow seems to feel his own cause a weak one. He certainly cannot conceal a half-consciousness, that his position betrays the cause to the Independents. If the Church on the one hand were a mere function of the state, according to Hobbes's monstrous position, then indeed a national Church, we may see, would be a defensible hypothesis. The Independent would be a rebel. Or if again the Church as such possess spiritual authority by the charter of its foundation, then still a national Church has solid ground to stand upon. For each particular Church, in proportion to its extent and position, has its portion of the power of the whole. But to claim authority for the national Church as such, denying it to the Church Catholic, appears self-contradictory. The Independent, who chances also to be an Englishman, may well ask, why the Christians who happen to obey the Queen and laws of England, and none besides them, are to have spiritual authority over him; and what right any one has to draw the line at a division, which with respect to the Church is wholly arbitrary and accidental. If one portion of the Church, why not all? If not all, why any? Barrow's usually powerful logic supplies but a feeble answer. He rests it simply upon an expediency, which it is open to any one to dispute. On the other hand, the attempt to retort the argument from consequences, and to fix upon Thorndike's doctrine the imputation of virtually smoothing the way for the papal supremacy, appears equally weak. Because the Church is a corporation, it does not follow that it must also be a monarchy. Because "some" can "oblige the whole," it need not be inferred that one can do so. In a word, because there is an order of clergy, or because there is a superiority of one order of clergy over another, it is not necessary that there should be a pope[q]. The

[q] Baxter,—in a book entitled, "Against the Revolt to a Foreign Jurisdiction, which would be to England its Perjury, Church-Ruine, and Slavery," in two parts, containing "1. the history of men's endeavors to introduce it, 2. the confutation of all pretences for it," 12mo. Lond. 1691,—has a special chapter upon Thorndike; whom he reckons with Grotius, Bramhall, Laud, Heylin, Bp. Sparrow, Samuel Parker Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Saywell, Bishop Gunning, H. Dodwell, Dean Thomas Pearce, and lastly Bishop Beveridge, as the maintainers of what he terms "French popery;" i. e. as defending the legislative or governing power of the Church Catholic, supposing it united as it ought to be, and consequently as allowing the pope a place and proportionate share in such governing power; which place and

remark may be added however, that, although the doctrine is for many reasons an important one, yet the particular purpose which originally led Thorndike to maintain it, seems hardly to require its support. The corporate unity of the Church Catholic may strengthen, but appears scarcely necessary to constitute, the testimony of that Church to the essential doctrines and discipline, as revealed by our Lord and His apostles, of the Christian faith. And Thorndike himself, who finds in miracles and prophecy the prime premiss of argumentative belief, and rests the evidence of the facts of such miracles and prophecy upon the testimony of Christians as men and not in their collective or corporate capacity as a Church, might, without any logical inconsistency, have found in similar testimony a ground for belief in the matter, as well as in the motives, of the faith.

And in Henry More's Antidote to Idolatry.

§ 41. Another divine of almost equal celebrity, although of a mind and temper pointedly contrasted with the strong rough intellect of Barrow, the contemplative mystic latitudinarian Platonist Henry More, joined also in assailing Thorndike in almost the last years of the latter's life[r]. The question between them relates to a minor and subordinate topic, namely, to the nature of idolatry, and to the inference, dependent upon the definition to be assigned to that sin, of the guilt or innocence, in that particular subject, of the Roman Church. In the latter point indeed lies the only real difference between the two. The remainder of the question is little more than a verbal difference as to the word idolatry. Thorndike restricts the term to the worship of that, which the worshipper takes to be in a strict and literal sense God; and denies therefore, that the Romish Church, so long as it declares its belief in one God, can be idolatrous. But he does not excuse, on the contrary he strongly condemns, the tenets of that Church upon the subject, much more the teaching of its doctors, much more still the practice of its people. He simply maintains, that so long as that Church, or individuals in it, really

share they further define to be a presidency or patriarchate over the Western Church, forfeited indeed by his usurpation of an absolute monarchy, and that over the whole Church, but his by human right, were he content with it.—See also Sylvester's Baxter, Pt. iii. p. 196.

[r] More's Antidote to Idolatry appeared in 1669, his Appendix to the Antidote, which names Thorndike, in 1673.

in their hearts believe in the one true God, so long they cannot commit the precise sin rightly called idolatry, in the honour,—the wrongful, superstitious, indefensible, but necessarily not idolatrous honour,—which they pay to objects that they do not believe to be God. Yet he runs the point so close, as to say, that "to pray to the saints for those things which only God can give, as all papists do, is by the proper sense of their words idolatry;" and that, "if they say their meaning is by a figure only to desire them to procure their requests of God," then, "how dare any Christian trust his soul with that Church, which teaches that which must needs be idolatry in all that understand not the figure[s]?" More refuses to limit the term so closely, and includes accordingly within it practices, which Thorndike alike condemns but will not call by the name. The latter adds also a second *à priori* argument on the subject; arguing, that the Church of Rome would not be a Church at all if it were idolatrous, but that the Church of England has throughout acknowledged it to be a Church, consequently it cannot be idolatrous:—an argument, of which it seems enough to say, that its logic is somewhat mathematical, and that (in Aristotelian language) *τοῖς φαινομένοις ἀμφισβητεῖ ἐναργῶς*. Let it be remembered, in forming our judgment upon the controversy, that zealots at the time maintained the idolatry of the Romish Church to be an offence that ought to be punished by death, in compliance as they held with the Mosaic law; and that Thorndike himself held idolatry to be so punishable as an offence against the law of nature.

His person and manners.

§ 42. Such was Herbert Thorndike in mind and sentiments: and such was the history of his writings, after he had been removed by death to a better world. The use made of them by later divines has been already mentioned[t]. A contemporary notice[u] enables us to imagine in some de-

[s] Judgment of the Ch. of Rome, § 12; above in vol. v.

[t] Above in § 1.

[u] See a 4to. volume, belonging to Trinity College Cambridge, and containing particulars collected by Dr. Parne respecting the history of the College and its members. It is mentioned in Edleston's Correspondence of Newton and Cotes, pp. lxxvii., lxxix. The memorandum above quoted, which must have come from a contemporary, is opposite p. 374: and informs us also, in addition to what has been elsewhere mentioned of Thorndike's College rooms, that he "had the garden to the left of the king's gate." Dr. Parne, who was B.A. in 1718, must have seen and conversed with men old enough to remember Thorndike.

gree the person and manners of the writer himself, by the information, that he "was of mean stature," but "had a good venerable look;" while his gravity was tempered by the fact, that he "was a polite man, and gay and pleasing company to the last."

Conclusion.

§ 43. We have thus briefly described the history and the writings of a divine, whose life extended through the greater part of a century of no less importance to the Church than to the state of England; a century, within which is to be dated in effect the last great starting point of the modern history of both. It cannot but be with a feeling of respectful and grateful interest, that we pass in review the actions and sentiments of one, who amidst the troubles of a distracted time, when all that was old, in philosophy, politics, ethics, education, religion, was alike passing by a perilous transition into new forms, was, under the undeserved providence of a merciful God, among the instruments of preserving to us the Articles and the Liturgy, the principles and the laws,—would that it could have been added, of restoring to us also the discipline, —of our own reformed branch of the Catholic Church. One conclusion mainly seems to be held up to us by his history; the testimony, namely, which it bears to the true and substantial catholicity of the English Church. A powerful intellect, guided by abundant learning, guarded by a pious and reverent temper, tested and strengthened by suffering and persecution, entering on the enquiry from an independent position, and supported in it by a straightforward and utterly fearless honesty of character, passed in deliberate review the whole position and doctrines of that Church, at a time when opinions were broken up, and when an intolerant tyranny had deprived her almost of her existence, and had set men free to criticize her at their will, with the bias of worldly temptations thrown wholly into the opposite direction. The motive which prompted the enquiry, was a deeply felt and practical desire to discern and grasp the truth in distracted and evil times. The standard which guided and measured it, was the Scripture interpreted by the early Church. The result is a forcible and well-weighed judgment in favour of the reformed Church of England upon all essential topics. And if it be said, that in one point at least (prayer for the

dead), if not also in two or three others of less moment, he desired the settlement of the Restoration to have been other than it is, it must be remembered, on the one hand, that, considered as a witness, his testimony is only increased in value by such proofs of honest independence of judgment; and, on the other, that at least the principle on which his desire was founded, was the true and precious principle, that has distinguished hitherto the English from all foreign reformations (whether or no in this case wisely applied); the belief, namely, that the Church of England is a restoration of what is old, not an establishing of anything new, and that the lines and measures of her reformed model are traced, in intention at least, by the rule of the primitive apostolic Church, before human corruption and disunion had marred the perfectness of the work of God. And for that most precious principle, and the mercy that has hitherto raised up men among us, of whom Thorndike himself was not the least, to preserve and maintain it, this Life may be fitly closed by the appropriate expression of thankfulness, with which Thorndike himself concludes both his earliest and his greatest works,—

תהלה לאלהי—LAUS DEO.

MILY[a].

4. Agnes T. 5. Jenet T. 6. Aleson T.

was buried there, a widow, 21 Sept. 1651. Castle Carlton, 25 July 1638.

Robert Thorndike bapt. 10 Aug. 1631, at Castle Carlton.

Miles Thorndike bapt. 7 January, 163⅞, and buried 16 May 1638, ibid.

T. ov. as-

Nicholas Thorndike bapt. 15 Feb. 162⅞, at Castle Carlton.

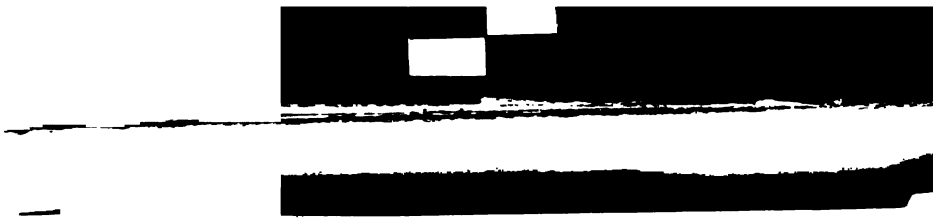
Ann T. bapt. 18 April 1630, ibid.

Robert Thorndike bapt. 8 April 1637, ibid., "son of Rich. and Ann."

im- is- 3.

3. Herbert Thorndike born 1598, died unmarried 1672. Preb. of Westminster

4. Paul Thorndike of Saucethorpe in co. Linc., died 1640. = Elizabeth dau. of Richard Brooke, widow of



B.

WRITINGS OF HERBERT THORNDIKE.

I. Published during the writer's life.

1. *Epitome Lexici Hebraici, Syriaci, Rabinici, et Arabici;* una cum Observationibus circa Linguam Hebream et Grecam: Authore Harberto Thornedike Cantabrigiensi: Londini, Typis Gulielmi Iones, 1635, folio, 278 pp.: probably also an earlier edition in 1632. (At the end is a tract called Rasche Theboth sive Abbreviaturæ Hebrææ, auctore Georgio Weigenmeiero, emendante Gualth. Keuchenio, 20 pp.) Incipit litera א Aleph: desinit תהלה לאלהי. [Cambridge University Library, and Jesus College Library, Oxford[a].]

2. *Of the Government of Churches*, a Discourse pointing at the Primitive Form: printed by Roger Daniel Printer to the Universitie of Cambridge: 8vo. 1641: with Thorndike's name, not in the title-page, but subscribed to the Dedication to the Duke of Lennox.

3. *Of Religious Assemblies and the Publick Service of God*, a Discourse according to Apostolicall Rule and Practice, by Herbert

[a] As the editions of some of Thorndike's works are scarce, a note has been added to each case of the kind, specifying where a copy of it is to be found. Those not so marked, are either common, or in the Bodleian Library.—For the (probably) three different issues of the Lexicon, each time with a new title-page, see above in the Life, § 5, p. 175, note m. The title-page of the copy in Jesus College Library, Oxford, and of that in the University Library at Cambridge, are fac-similes — they are in fact the same title-page, as is evidenced by, among other things, the peculiar position of the full point after the word Arabici in both,—with the single exception of the writer's surname, which is "Thornedike" in the former, and "Thornidicke" in the latter. The book itself hardly answers to its title. It is a lexicon certainly of the specified languages, with the addition of the Chaldee, and arranged according to the Hebrew, the triliteral primitives being followed under each letter by the few of more letters than three. But the observations on the Hebrew tongue are none at all; and those on the Greek amount to less than forty Greek words scattered throughout the Lexicon, mainly (although not wholly) such as κικι, σικερα, &c., where the Greek happens to tally with the Hebrew. No oriental types are employed in it except Hebrew. Keuchenius would appear to have superintended the printing of the book in London. He says at least, in his Monitum ad Lectorem prefixed to the Abbreviaturæ Hebr. at the end, that "consultum duximus eundem" (i. e. Weigenmeier's book), "sed nunc plurimis abbreviaturis (quantum a nobis currente prelo ex lectione præsertim Philosophorum et Mekabbalim observari potuit) auctum, Thesauro huic linguarum adjicere, nequid ad perfectionem ejus desideraretur."

Thorndike: Cambridge, printed by Roger Daniel, Printer to the Universitie, and are to be sold at the Angel in Lombard Street, in London: 8vo. 1642.

Both of these tracts were reprinted, with a Review, under the title of—Two Discourses, the one of the Primitive Government of Churches, the other of the Service of God at the Assemblies of the Church, now enlarged with a Review, by Herbert Thorndike, Cambridge 8vo. 1650. [University Library, Cambridge.]

The former of them was again reprinted by the Rev. David Lewis, with an Introduction, London, 12mo. 1841.

4. *A Discourse of the Right of the Church in a Christian State*, by Herbert Thorndike, with a Review by way of Appendix; London, printed by M. F. for Octavian Pullen at the sign of the Rose in St. Paul's Churchyard: 8vo. 1649;—re-issued with a new title-page, as by Herbert Thorndike, one of the Prebends of Westminster Church; London, printed for John Lutton, at the Blew Anchor in the Poultry: 8vo. 1670. [Jesus College Library, Oxford.]

Re-edited, with a Preface, by the Rev. J. S. Brewer, Lond. 12mo. 1841.

5. *A Letter Concerning the Present State of Religion amongst us;* 8vo. pp. 24, without place, name, or date, but published in 1656.

Avowed, and republished with alterations, and with the addition to the title of an explanatory clause, scil. "Under the Act of Establishment, prosecuted by the Ordinances concerning the Triers and Commissioners for ejecting of Scandalous Ministers:"—at the end of Just Weights and Measures, 4to. 1662, and 1680, as below.

6. *Variantes in Syriaca Versione Veteris Testamenti Lectiones* e Codicibus nostris MSS. excerptæ ab Herberto Thorndicio: in Bibl. Polygl., tom. vi. Lond. fol. 1657.

7. *An Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England*[b]; being a Necessary Consideration and Brief Resolution of the chief Controversies in Religion that divide the Western Church; occasioned by the present calamity of the Church of England: in three books, viz. of I. The Principles of Christian Truth, II. The Covenant of Grace, III. The Laws of the Church: by Herbert Thorndike: London, printed by J. M. and T. R. for J. Martin, J. Allestry, and T. Dicas; and are to be sold at the sign of the Bell in St. Paul's Churchyard, fol. 1659.

8. *The Due Way of Composing the Differences on Foot*, preserving the Church; according to the opinion of Herbert Thorndike: Lon-

[b] A copy of the Epilogue with MS. corrections by Thorndike himself, belonging to the Rev. David Lewis, has been made use of for the present edition.

don, printed by A. Warren for John Martin, James Allestry, and Thomas Dicas, at the Bell in St. Paul's Churchyard; 8vo. 1660. [Jesus College Library, Oxford.]

Reprinted at the end of Just Weights and Measures, 4to. 1662, and 1680, as below.

9. *Just Weights and Measures:* that is, The Present State of Religion weighed in the Balance and measured by the Standard of the Sanctuary; according to the opinion of Herbert Thorndike—[with the Letter concerning the Present State of Religion, and the Due Way of Composing Differences, nos. 5 and 8, appended]:—London, printed by J. M. for J. Martin, J. Allestry, and T. Dicas, and are to be sold at the sign of the Bell in St. Paul's Churchyard: 4to. 1662.

Reprinted after Thorndike's death, Lond. 4to. 1680[c].

10. *A Discourse of the Forbearance or the Penalties which a Due Reformation requires;* by H. Thorndike, one of the Prebends of Westminster Church: London, printed by J. M. for James Collins, at the King's-Head in Westminster Hall: 8vo. 1670.

11. *De Ratione ac Jure Finiendi Controversias Ecclesiæ Disputatio,* auctore Herberto Thorndicio, Westmonasteriensis Ecclesiæ Canonico: Londini, imprimebat Thomas Roycroft LL. Orientalium Typographus Regius; 1670. folio.

The unsold copies were re-issued after Thorndike's death[d], with an Index Capitum added, and a new title-page, scil. Origines Ecclesiasticæ, sive De Jure et Potestate Ecclesiæ Christianæ Exercitationes, auctore Herberto Thorndicio Westmonasteriensis Ecclesiæ Canonico, Londini, typis T. Roycroft, prostant apud Rob. Scott in vico Little Britain, 1674.

II. Published after the writer's death.

1. *The True Principle of Comprehension,* or a Petition against the Presbyterian request for a Comprehensive Act in 1667: written in 1667; first published, from the MS. in the Chapter Library of Westminster, in vol. v. of the present edition of Thorndike's Works, Oxf. 8vo. 1854.

2. *The Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed and Answered,* in a Discourse upon Rom. xv. 1: written in 166$\frac{7}{8}$; first published, from the MS. in the same place, in vol. v. of the same edition of Thorndike's Works.

[c] A copy of this edition with MS. notes of no value, and of a good deal later date than Thorndike's own time, is in the Bodleian.

[d] See the account of this, above in p. 150, notes m, n, and in the Life, § 34.

3. *The Reformation of the Church of England better than that of the Council of Trent,* or a short Resolution of the Controversies between the Churches of England and Rome: written about 1670—2; first published, from the MS. in the same place, in vol. v. of the same edition of Thorndike's Works.

4. *Mr. Herbert Thorndike's Judgment of the Church of Rome:* written about 1671, 2; first published by Stillingfleet in his Conferences between a Romish Priest, a Fanatic Chaplain, and a Divine of the Church of England, concerning the Idolatry of the Church of Rome, Lond. 8vo. 1679.

5. *The Church's Right to Tithes, as found in Scripture:* written at an uncertain date, but after 1659, and probably in that year or in 1660; first published, from the MS. in the Chapter Library of Westminster, in vol. vi. of the present edition of Thorndike's Works, Oxf. 8vo. 1855.

6. *The Church's Power of Excommunication, as found in Scripture:*
7. *The Church's Legislative Power, as found in Scripture:*
8. *The Right of the Christian State in Church-matters, according to the Scriptures:*

written, and published, at the same dates, from the same place, and in the same volume, as No. 5.

The whole of these treatises and tracts, except the three in Latin (scil. under division I. those numbered 1, 6, 11), are contained in the present collection of Thorndike's (English) Theological Works, Oxf. 8vo. vols. i.—vi., 1844-55. The writer of the Life is responsible only for vols. iii.—vi., the first two volumes having been edited by another.

III. Still in MS.[e]

Three 4to. volumes, in the handwriting of an amanuensis, but cor-

[e] There are, likewise, in the Chapter Library of Westminster, the MSS., in part, of Just Weights and Measures (viz. cc. i.—xxii. inclusive), and of the Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c. (viz. of. cc. i.—xiii., part of c. xiv. cc. xvii., xviii., the last paragraphs of c. xxii., and the beginning of c. xxiii.); besides those of the fragment published in the present volume among Thorndike's Letters (no. IV.), and of the seven tracts mentioned above (scil. under Division II. those numbered 1,2,3, 5,6,7,8). The last four of these (viz. the Church's Right to Tithes, Power of Excommunication, Legislative Power, and the Rt. of the State in Ch.-Matters) are written on the blank pages of a single 4to. volume, which had previously been used as a common-place book for the materials (apparently) of the original edition of the Epilogue in 1659. All of these MSS. are in Thorndike's own handwriting. And the entire number of separate MSS. in the Chapter Library is ten.—The sources whence the various Letters of Thorndike have been derived, are marked in each case in the margin of the Letters themselves.

rected, the blanks filled up (only partially however in the third), and some notes added to the second, by Thorndike himself, are in the Westminster Chapter Library, and still unpublished. Their date is subsequent to the Restoration, and (probably) between the publication of Just Weights and Measures and that of the Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., i. e. between 1662 and 1670; and at the later part of the time thus limited, when their author was growing feeble. His writing indeed must have become somewhat illegible, if we may judge by the number of blanks left by the amanuensis: nor has he himself completed the task of filling these up in the third volume. All his other MSS. are written in his own hand; even that of The Reformation of the Ch. of Engl. &c., written not very long before his death.

1. The first of these three volumes is a 4to. of 192 pp., beginning, "In the first place then it must be made to appeare;" and treats the same subjects with the first Book of the Epilogue.

2. The second is a similar volume, of 285 pp., beginning, "The foundation and constitution of the Church supposeth;" and treats the same subjects with the second Book of the Epilogue.

3. The third is a similar volume, of 309 pp., beginning, "The necessitie of the sacraments of baptism and of the eucharist;" and treats the same subjects with the third Book of the Epilogue.

Their contents are so far identical with those of the Epilogue itself, as to render the publication of three treatises of such length a needless expense.

C.

The following are the verses of Thorndike upon Charles I.'s recovery from the small-pox, and in honour of Winterton and Duport, referred to above in the Life, § 5.

I.

Quæ nova Parcarum feritas? quo numine fretæ
  Audent in tantos mittere tela Deos?
Exundans lacrymis Rhenusque et Pannonus ora
  Mæsta gemunt reges occubuisse suos[f].
Fatorum effrænes miratur Suecia vires,
  Tota stupens regem posse perire suum[g].
Nec satiata tamen tantorum funere regum,
  Tentarunt nostrum fata ferire Jovem.
Non tamen internas penetrarunt tela medullas,
  Scilicet hæc trepida missa fuere manu.
Sæva licet, nostras timuerunt fata querelas,
  Invidiam populi nec potuere pati.

H. T. C. T.[h]

(Anthol. in Regis Exanthemata seu Gratulat. Musarum Cantabrigiensium de felicissime conservata Regis Caroli valetudine, pp. 48, 49. 4to. Cantab. 1632, i. e. 163$\frac{2}{3}$.)

II.

Οὗτος ὃς Ἱπποκράτους ἱερὸν νόον ἔμμετρα φράζει,
Ὡς φύσεως φράζει τὸν νόον Ἱπποκράτης.

Herbertus Thorndyck, Cantabr.
C. T. Socius, Art. Magister 1620.

(inter Epigrammata &c. in Radulphi Winterton Metaphrasin, scil. Aphorismorum Hippocratis, nuper editam, 8vo. Cantab. 1633, p. 18.)

[f] Frederic the Elector Palatine died a few weeks after the battle of Lützen (6 Nov. 1632).

[g] Gustavus Adolphus, killed at Lützen. Charles I. was taken ill in December 1632.

[h] No other fellow or scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, with the initials H. T., appears in Gough's list already referred to, at this period, besides Thorndike. Nor has any member of that College, foundationer or not, been elsewhere traced, who could dispute his claim to the verses here printed.

III.

IN JOBUM CARMINE HOMERICO A J. D. EXPRESSUM.

Quis te, Calliope, et tuas sorores,
Pellexit Helicone de nivoso,
Atque Ausitidis hospites arenæ,
Per tentoria fusca Madianis,
Greges per sitientis Ismaelis,
Veri oracla Dei docet sonare?
Sacris scilicet entheus loquelis,
Idem Cecropio madens liquore,
Duportus, veteres novem sorores
Secum squalida tesqua in Ismaelis
Pergens ducere, Græciæ loquacis
Mendaces jubet ejerare nugas,
Et solatia de dolore tristi
Jobo fundere, dum pius severo
Indulget patientiam flagello.
Gaude, Mæonide: tibi negata
Donat lumina Jobus, et deastras
Oblitum veteres, jubet tueri
Unius jubar usque veritatis;
Et plenum Domini severioris,
Sacro fundere nectar e Sione;
Ut primævi Orientis exul, inde
Pervadat pietas in Occidentem;
Et raram numeris tuis propinet
Extremis patientiam Britannis.

Herbertus Thorndike, Coll. Sacr.
et Indiv. Trin. Socius.

(Among the verses prefixed to Θρηνοθρίαμβος sive Liber Job Græco Carmine Redditus, autore J. D. Cantabrigiensi, S. T. B. Cantab. 12mo. 1637.)

D.

The following are Duport's verses upon the death of Thorndike, referred to above in the Life, § 1 and 5.

" In Obitum Viri omnifaria Eruditione instructissimi,

HERBERTI THORNDIKE,

Canonici Westmonasteriensis, et Collegii SS. Trinitatis Cantab. non ita pridem Socii.

Suum cuique nomen et meritum decus
Rependit ætas postera, at præsens negat.
Vivos poëtas quis satis digne æstimat?
Plausum theatri vix Menander obtinet:
Rident Homerum tempora (ô mores!) sua:
Præ vatibus jam mortuis sordet Maro:
Ovidi, Corinna sola te novit tua.
Sed nec poëtas livor hic solos premit,
Nec sors maligna; cuncti et hanc ferunt boni,
Doctique: virtutem et scientiam odimus
Vivam videntemque; at semel si evanuit,
Sublatam utramvis quærimus mox invidi.
Herberte, quis te litterarum ingens decus,
Doctrinæ abyssum, te quis aut coluit satis,
Pretio superstitem æstimavit vel tuo?
Nunc postquam abîsti, ut omnes te stupescimus,
Miramur omnes, et tibi hunc plausum damus,
Thorndikus exit, seculi Varro sui.
Ingrati hic mos est invidique seculi.
I nunc, inepte, quisquis es mortalium,
Virtute honorem, litteris laudem pete;
Canonicus ut sis, claustro et inclusus tuo.
Post fata forsan te orbis admirabitur;
Placere tanti si putas, statim peri:
Vivis negatur fama, mortuis datur."

From Dr. James Duport's Horæ Subsecivæ seu Poetica Stromata, Cantabr. 8vo. 1676: among the Epicedia, p. 494.

[These verses are printed also in Nichols' History of Leicestershire, vol. iv. p. 134. The first line is as Dr. Duport printed it.]

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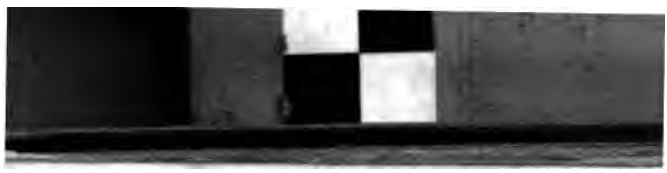

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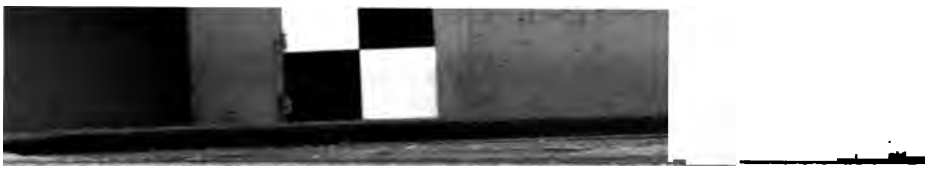

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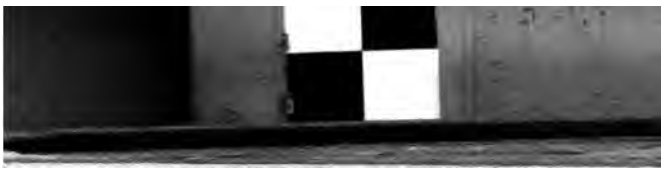

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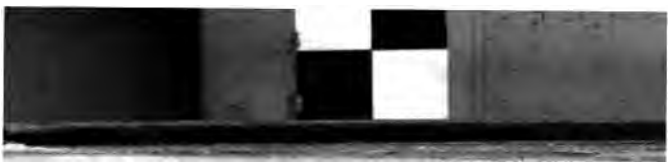

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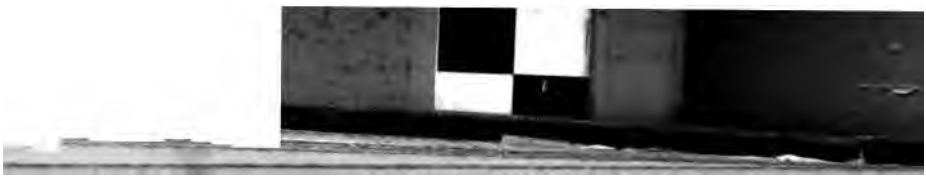

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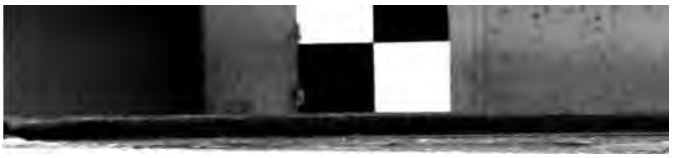

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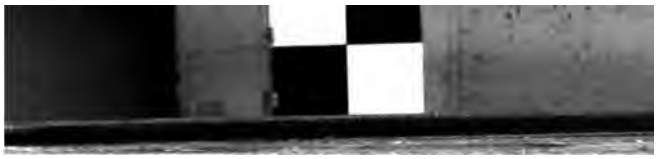

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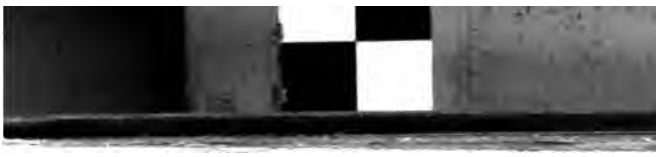

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 16, *line* 9. For 36, *read* 26.

—— 31, note f. Substitute for the note there printed the following:—Josephus, De Bello Jud. lib. ii. c. xvii. § 2. vol. ii. p. 1091: and see also Overall's Convocation Book, bk. i. p. 69.

—— 45, note c. *Read,* Iliad, v. 844, 845.

—— 51, *line* 9. For feasts, *read* fasts.

—— 58, note k. *line* 2. For § 3, *read* § 31.

—— 99, note a, col. 2. *lines* 14, 15. Dele the words "i.e. from one of those among the Codices Barrocciani." The MS. in question must have belonged to the King's Library, of which Patrick Young was then librarian.

—— 127, note a, *line* 4. For 1651, *read* 1653.

—— 134, *line* 7. For March 31, 1658, *read* March 31, 1659.

—— 167, *lines* 2, 3. "Ancient philosophy and languages." It may be worth while observing, that Thorndike's quotations from Aristotle are frequently in the Greek, and that he shews much about as familiar an acquaintance with the Ethics and with the logical writings of Aristotle, as an Oxford classman of the present day would possess. It may be added, that Barrow, at the Restoration, as Greek Professor at Cambridge, having lectured upon Sophocles in vain, tried the experiment of reading, for the subject of his Professorial lectures, the Ethics of Aristotle (see Hughes's Life of Barrow). Doubtless, therefore, although still more or less studied in the old Latin translations and commentaries, and as technicized by the schoolmen, Aristotle was nevertheless known from his own original texts, even in the earlier part of Thorndike's academical life.

—— 175, note k, *line* 23. For 1680, *read* 1683.

—— 179, note y. It appears to be the rule at Trinity College, Cambridge, that no resignation within the year can avert the operation of the statute respecting forfeiture of fellowships upon accepting preferment. Consequently Thorndike must have resigned his stall before May 30, 1639, the date of his induction to Claybrook; and the stall must have lain vacant until Levetson's appointment in 1640. The latter part of the note should be corrected accordingly. See also p. 226, note e.

—— 180, *lines* 17, 18. For "having become," *read,* "and shortly before he became." He was not senior fellow until July 6, 1639.

—— 183, note x, *line* 11. For 13, 1642, *read* 16, 1642.

—— 210, *line* 6. For Milton's uncongenial College tutor, *read,* sometime Milton's College Tutor. Milton became Tovey's pupil, in consequence of his quarrel with Chappell, his first College tutor. See p. 115, note a, where the matter is correctly stated; and Todd's Life of Milton.

—— 269. It may interest the curious in book-prices, to mention, on the authority of Robert Clavel's "General Catalogue of Books printed since the dreadful Fire of London in 1666 to the end of Trinity Term, 1674," that Thorndike's folio volume De Ratione Finiendi Controversias &c., was published in 1670 at the price of 14*s.* (Clavel, p. 108), and his Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c. (a small 8vo.), in the same year, at that of 2*s.* (ibid. p. 50). His lexicon was purchased by Dr. Mansell for 2*s.* 6*d.*, as appears by an entry on the title-page of the copy which is now in Jesus College Library, Oxford.

—— 322, col. 2, under *Bernard, line* 2, for III., 583, *read* III. 583.

—— 360, *line* 5. For 778, 779, *read* 794, 795.

—— 368, col. 1, under *Arles,* dele *Marinus.*

—— 387, col. 2. *line* 48. For ii., *read* II.

DIRECTION TO BINDER.

Cancel the Indices subjoined to vols. I. and II.

The two Letters printed below, and the extract from that of Mr. Seignior, and the copy of verses by Thorndike upon the death of Bacon, have come to light, unfortunately, too late to be made use of in their proper places in the present volume. It appears worth while, however, to append them here, inasmuch as their contents confirm and explain some of the statements made in the Life. The verses should have formed part of note C, p. 272. The Letters should have followed that numbered XVII. It appears also, through information kindly given by Mr. Somerby, of Boston, U.S., the accuracy of whose knowledge respecting the Thorndike family, to which he is related, far exceeds any that the writer of the Life can himself pretend to possess,—that the Nicholas Thorndike whose will (dated in 1595) is quoted in the Pedigree, notes c and d, was not the grandfather of the divine, but a cousin of his grandfather; and consequently that the statement (made above, in pp. 158, 159,) that he styles himself a "yeoman," and probably also the refusal on the part of the Heralds in 1592 to allow a Nicholas Thorndike to bear arms, do not refer to the grandfather, but to his namesake. It appears also on the same authority that the portions of the Pedigree referred to in the end of note q, (viz., the marriages, issue, and burials of the Herbert, Richard, and John Thorndikes there mentioned,) are erroneous, and should be struck out.

XVIII.

HERBERT THORNDIKE TO DR. WILLIAM SANCROFT[a].

Mr. Dean,

I send you here a copy of the Provision which I make by my Will for the easing of your trouble. I take it to bee all safe to you, that you have nobody to agree with here, but one, in the Country, next of kin to mee, to see to the receit[b] of the Rent and discharge of the Interest. And whereas there are other charges upon these Rents in common with others, I have obliged my Executor, to whome I leave the rest, to see that these Lands bee not troubled for the other

[a] This letter is from an autograph in the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library (vol. xliii. fol. 9), and is endorsed as "for ye most Reverend ffather in God Gilbert Ld. ArchB^p^. of Canterbery," but it was evidently written to Sancroft. It is dated a little more than three weeks before Thorndike's death, and was probably written from Chiswick. See, for its contents, Thorndike's Will, printed above, and his Life, § 37.

[b] "Pay," scored through, and "receit," interlined, in the MS.

charges, by making him Executor upon the condition that hee secure you of that. If you think there wants any thing, I beseech you advise mee, and let mee know how long you stay in town, and let mee have your Prayers, who remain,

Sir,

Your affec[t]. friend and servant in Xt.,

H. THORNDIKE.

June y[e] 17th, —72.

XIX.

HERBERT THORNDIKE TO DR. WILLIAM SANCROFT[c].

SIR,

You suppose all right, but onely this; that the wife of the Testator[d] is not dead, but hath 40ll a year out of his Lands in common. And I certifyed you afore, what course I take, that those Lands bee never troubled for it. I have leavied a fine, and suffered a Recovery, to make mee able to dispose of these Lands. I sent one to you to certify you of my arivall. I am now to expect further of your progress, beeing,

Sir,

Your humble servant in Xt.,

H. THORNDIKE.

Westminster, June 22, —72.

In the Tanner MSS., vol. xliii. fol. 63, is a letter from a Mr. George Seignior to Dean Sancroft, dated Dec. 19, 1672, i. e. about five months after Thorndike's death, from which the following is an extract:—

"This enclosed sheet of 18 Heads is Mr. Thorndike's; which I was told last Tuesday at Westminster you had a desire to see: and had not yesterday been a stormy rain, had waited on you with . . . . . If there bee an intention to reprint the Weights and Measures, it were (with submission) heartily to bee wished that this sheet, as alsoe those you

[c] From an autograph in the same volume of the Tanner MSS., fol. 10, and with the same erroneous endorsement.

[d] Evidently Francis Thorndike, the eldest brother, whose wife survived both her husband and Herbert himself: see the Will above; and note n to the Pedigree.

wot of about *Idolatry* and *Antichrist*, might goe along with them, which may prevent any unworthy reflections upon the memory of soe good a man. There is another Paper, I ghess about the notion of a *Church*, and *Schisme*, which I suppose hee might write about a fortnight before his Death, upon the occasion of *Mr. Hales' Tract of Schisme*, which hee never saw, till I brought it to him then at Cheswick, and left with him; Dr. Busby will deny you nothing: upon it I made bold to desire that excellent men" (so in MS.) "to pen his *immediate thoughts* on these subjects, which hee promised, as God should continue strength; and his pen was on the paper to the day of his death."

Of the papers here mentioned, the first, described as "in 18 Heads," and the last, that upon Hales' treatise on Schism, which appear to have remained in the possession respectively of Sancroft and Dr. Busby, have not been found, and were not published with the projected reprint of the Just Weights and Measures, which actually appeared in 1680. The "sheets about Idolatry and Antichrist" are probably identical with the "Judgment of the Church of Rome," for which see above in pp. 253, 258, 270, and the paper itself at the end of vol. v.

In Obitum honoratissimi Domini D. Francisci Vicecomitis Sancti Albani, Baronis Verulamii, Viri Incomparabilis.

Parcite: Noster amat facunda silentia luctus,
  Postquam obiit solus dicere qui potuit;
Dicere, quæ stupeat procerum generosa corona,
  Nexaque sollicitis solvere jura reis.
Vastum opus. At nostras etiam Verulamius artes
  Instaurat veteres, condit et ille novas.
Non qua majores: penitos verum ille recessus
  Naturæ audaci provocat ingenio.
Ast ea, siste gradum, serisque nepotibus, inquit,
  Linque quod inventum sæcla minora juvet.
Sit satis, his sese quod nobilitata inventis,
  Jactent ingenio tempora nostra tuo.
Est aliquid, quo mox ventura superbiet ætas;
  Est, soli notum quod decet esse mihi:

Sit tua laus, pulchros corpus duxisse per artus,
Integra cui nemo reddere membra queat:
Sic opus artificem infectum commendat Apellem,
Cum pingit reliquam nulla manus Venerem.
Dixit, et indulgens cæco Natura furori,
Præsecuit vitæ filum operisque simul.
At tu, qui pendentem audes detexere telam,
Solus quem condant hæc monumenta scies.

H. T. Coll. Trin. Socius.

(From a Collection of Latin verses, entitled *Memoriæ Honoratissimi Domini Francisci, Baronis de Verulamio, Vicecomitis Sancti Albani, Sacrum.* London, 1626, 4to. leaves 17; edited by Dr. Rawley, and reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. x. p. 293.)

March, 1856.

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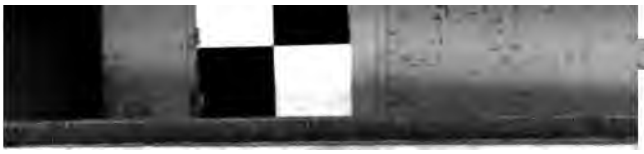

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